



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

istic

LIBRARY

OF THE

University of California.

No. 11601

Division

Range

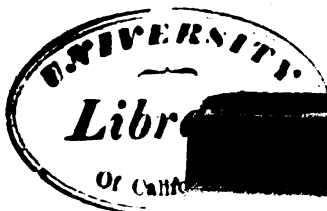
Shelf

Received June 1876

University of California.

GIFT OF

John S. Hittell, Esq.
1876.



DOUGLASS SERIES
OF
CHRISTIAN GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

FOR USE IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

VOL. IV.
ATHENAGORAS.

11601

NOTICE.

It is remarkable that no place has been given in the schools and colleges of England and America to the writings of the early Christians. For many centuries, and down to what is called the Pagan Renaissance, they were the common linguistic study of educated Christians. The stern piety of those times thought it wrong to dally with the sensual frivolities of heathen poets, and never imagined it possible that the best years of youth should be spent in mastering the refinements of a mythology and life which at first they feared and loathed, and which at last became as remote and unreal to them as the Veda is to us.

Classical Philology, however, took its ideal of beauty from Pagan Greece, and it has filled our schools with those books which are its best representatives.

The modern Science of Language has again changed the point of view. It gives the first place to truth; it seeks to know man, his thoughts, his growth; it looks on the literature of an age as a daguerreotype of the age; it values books according to their historical significance. The writings of the early Christians embody the history of the most important events known to man, in language not unworthy of the events, and the study of Latin and Greek as vehicles of Christian thought should be the most fruitful study known to Philology, and have its place of honor in the University Course.

The present Series owes its origin to an endowment by Mr. Benjamin Douglass for the study of these authors in Lafayette College. Each volume will be prepared with critical text, introduction, and notes like the current approved text-books for college study. They will be edited by F. A. March, LL.D., Professor of Comparative Philology in Lafayette College, with such help as may be found desirable. Four volumes are now ready:

LATIN HYMNS, with English Notes. 12mo, Cloth, \$1 75.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS. The First Book and Selections. With an Introduction by A. BALLARD, D.D., Professor of Christian Greek and Latin in Lafayette College; and Explanatory Notes by W. B. OWEN, A.M., Adj. Professor of Christian Greek. 12mo, Cloth, \$1 75.

TERTULLIAN: Select Works. With an Introduction by LYMAN COLEMAN, D.D., Professor of Latin in Lafayette College. 12mo, Cloth, \$1 75.

ATHENAGORAS. With Explanatory Notes by W. B. OWEN, A.M., Adj. Professor of Christian Greek in Lafayette College. 12mo, Cloth, \$1 75.

The Series has been well received, and the co-operation of several of our most eminent scholars has been cordially given. A volume of JUSTIN MARTYR, prepared by B. L. Gildersleeve, LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Virginia, is now ready for the press. AUGUSTINE will follow, prepared by E. P. Crowell, Professor of Latin in Amherst College; and, later, other volumes of the Christian Fathers, and perhaps of more modern authors who have written in Latin.

ATHENAGORAS.

11

EDITED FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

By F. A. MARCH, LL.D.

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

By W. B. OWEN, A.M.,

ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN GREEK IN LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.



NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1876.

B765
A75

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1875, by
HARPER & BROTHERS,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

mp

P R E F A C E.

THESE treatises have peculiar merits. They were written by a philosopher for philosophers. It is much as if John Stuart Mill had undertaken to refute Christianity, and had taken up the Bible and other original documents to study the matter at first hand and refute so that there should be no more refuting needed, and as if the study had made a Christian of him, and he had written a plea for his religion and a discourse on immortality. Just about so carefully, clearly, orderly, masterly, with a similar pervading presence of philosophical thinking and language, does Athenagoras discourse. He had grown up, like Mill, with no religion but philosophy, nurtured on the ideas of Plato, trained in the logic of Aristotle, ready to confute; he took up Christianity to refute it, it is said, and was convinced of its truth. It is worth knowing what such a man has to say for himself.

Then here is some good Greek. Athenagoras lived at the same time with well-known heathen authors. He might have heard the gospel of heroism from the mouth of Plutarch, and have laughed at the sallies of

Lucian. Longinus was a hundred years later. He was an Athenian gentleman and scholar—καλὸς καγα-
ξός. He speaks always with simplicity and reserve
of force. A certain elegant courtesy pervades the
whole Plea, such as becometh the address of an Athe-
nian to an imperial philosopher. In place of the buf-
foonery which seasons and preserves Lucian, there is
Attic salt in the periods in which Athenagoras sets
forth the absurdities and abominations of the current
mythology; and, taking care not to offend any of the
little ones at Athens or Rome, he repeats the sover-
eign thought of Paul in language drawn from Plato.

The text of Otto has been used, and I would like to
give Otto the credit of all the research to be found in
this edition. Other works have been used, but he had
harvested before me. Gleanings in Maran have yield-
ed a few good ears. Professor Gildersleeve has given
me valuable corrections.

Otto's excellent Latin translation, and the great body
of notes on the various readings, are not suited to the
purpose of this book. Prof. Owen, who has heard
classes in it, has prepared parts with abundant element-
ary notes; in the Plea, Chapters I.-IV., XI.-XXIII.;
in the Resurrection, Chapters I.-XV. Other portions
are left without such aids, so that teachers may please
themselves in the parts they dwell on.

F. A. M.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, *August*, 1875.

CONTENTS.

	Page
SUPPLICATIO PRO CHRISTIANIS.....	9
DE RESURRECTIONE MORTUORUM.....	53
LIFE OF ATHENAGORAS.....	89
HIS STYLE AND DICTION.....	93
ANALYSIS OF THE PLEA.....	99
NOTES.....	103
ANALYSIS OF THE TREATISE ON THE RESURREC-	
TION	177
NOTES.....	183
INDEX OF WORDS.....	223
INDEX OF PLACES CITED.....	241
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.....	244



ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ.

Αὐτοκράτορσιν Μάρκῳ Ἀὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ
Ἀὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ, Ἀρμενιοκοῖς, Σαρματικοῖς,
τὸ δὲ μέγιστον Φιλοσόφοις.

Ι. 1. Ἡ ὑμετέρα, μεγάλοι βασιλέων, οἰκουμένη, ἄλλος ἄλλοις ἔξεισι χρώνται καὶ νόμοις, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν νόμῳ καὶ φόβῳ δίκης, κἂν γελοῖα ᾗ, μὴ στέργειν τὰ πάτρια εἴργεται. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰλιεὺς Θεὸν Ἑκτορα λέγει καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀδράστειαν ἐπιστάμενος προσκυνεῖ, ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία καὶ Φιλονόην τὴν Τυνδάρειω θυγατέρα καὶ Τέννην ὁ Τενέδιος σέβει, ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύει· καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια ἄγουσι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἱ ἐνομίσθησαν ἄσεβεῖν ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα. Καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ δῆμους θυσίας κατάγουσιν ἥς ἂν θέλωσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μυστήρια. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ κύνας θεοὺς νομίζουσι. 2. Καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπετε. καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ νόμοι, τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδ' ὅλως Θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι ἄσεβες καὶ ἀνόσιον νομίσαντες, τὸ δὲ οἷς ἕκαστος βούλεται χρῆσθαι ὡς θεοῖς ἀναγκαῖον, ἵνα τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον δέει ἀπέχωνται τοῦ ἀδικεῖν. Ὑμῖν δὲ (καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξ ἀκοῆς) τὸ ὄνομα τί ἀπεχθάνεται; Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσους ἄξια, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδίκημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας. 3.

Διόπερ τὸ πρᾶον ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμερον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα εἰρηνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θανμάζοντες οἱ μὲν καθ' ἓνα ἰσονομοῦνται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ἴσης μετέχουσι τιμῆς, καὶ ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συνέσει βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύουσιν. 4. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί, ὅτι μὴ προενόησθε καὶ ἡμῶν, συγχωρεῖτε δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων, ὡς προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δειχθήσεται, εὖσεβέστατα διακειμένους καὶ δικαιοτάτα πρὸς τε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν, ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι, ἐπὶ μόνῳ ὀνόματι προσπολεμούντων ἡμῖν τῶν πολλῶν, μηνῦσαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐτολμήσαμεν (διδασθήσεσθε δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄτερ δίκης καὶ παρὰ πάντα νόμον καὶ λόγον πάσχοντας ἡμᾶς), καὶ δεόμεθα ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τι σκέψασθαι, ὅπως πανσώμεθά ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν σφαττόμενοι. 5. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς χρήματα ἢ παρὰ τῶν διωκόντων ζημία, οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν ἢ αἰσχύνῃ, ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι τῶν μειζόνων ἢ βλάβῃ· τούτων γὰρ καταφρονούμεν, κἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκῇ σπουδαῖα, ξέροντα οὐ μόνον μὴ ἀντιπαίειν οὐδὲ μὴν δικάζεσθαι τοῖς ἄγουσι καὶ ἀρπάζουσιν ἡμᾶς μεμαθηκότες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν, κἂν κατὰ κόρρῃς προσπηλακίζωσι, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον παίειν παρέχειν τῆς κεφαλῆς μέρος, τοῖς δέ, εἰ τὸν χιτῶνα ἀφαιροῖντο, ἐπιδιδόναι καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον. Ἄλλ' εἰς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, ὅταν ἀπείπωμεν τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν, κατασκεδάζοντες ὄχλον ἐγκλημάτων· ἃ ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑπονοίας, τοῖς δὲ ἀδολεσχοῦσι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνων πρόσεστι γένει.

II. 6. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν ἔχει ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον ἀδικοῦντας, κολάζεσθαι οὐ παραιτούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥτις πικροτάτη καὶ ἀνηλεὲς τιμωρία ὑπέχειν ἀξιούμεν. Εἰ δὲ μέχρις ὀνόματος ἢ κατηγορίας (εἰς γοῦν τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἃ περὶ ἡμῶν λογοποιοῦσιν ἢ κοινὴ καὶ ἄκριτος

τῶν ἀνθρώπων φήμη, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀδικῶν Χριστιανὸς ἐλή-
 λεγκται), ὑμῶν ἥδη ἔργον τῶν μεγίστων καὶ φιλανθρώπων
 καὶ φιλομαθεσμάτων βασιλέων, ἀποσκευάσαι ἡμῶν νόμφ
 τὴν ἐπήρειαν, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἡ σύμπασα ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐερ-
 γεσίαις καὶ κατ' ἓνα κεκοινώνηκε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ ἡμεῖς
 ἔχωμεν ὑμῖν χάριν, σεμνυνόμενοι ὅτι πεπαύμεθα συκοφαν-
 τούμενοι. 7. Καὶ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, αἰτίαν λαβόντας ἀδικημάτων, μὴ πρό-
 τερον ἢ ἐλεγχθῆναι κολάζεσθαι, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μεῖζον ἰσχύ-
 ειν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ ἐλέγχων, οὐκ εἰ ἡδίκησέ τι
 ὁ κρινόμενος τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπιζητούντων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ
 ὄνομα ὡς εἰς ἀδικημα ἐνυβριζόντων. 8. Οὐδὲν δὲ ὄνομα
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οὐ πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζε-
 ται, διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἢ πονηρὰς ἢ ἀγαθὰς
 πράξεις ἢ φλαῦρα ἢ ἀγαθὰ δοκεῖ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἴστε
 φανερώτερον, ὥσανεὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ παιδείας πάσης
 ὁρμώμενοι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν κρινόμενοι, κἂν ἐπὶ
 μεγίστοις φεύγωσι, θάρρουν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐξετάσετε αὐτῶν
 τὸν βίον, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ὀνόμασι προσθήσεσθε, ἂν ἡ κενὰ,
 οὔτε ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν κατηγοριῶν αἰτίαις, εἰ ψευδεῖς εἴεν·
 ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει τὴν καταδικάζουσαν τῆς ἀπολυνούσης δέχον-
 ται ψῆφον. 9. Τὸ τοίνυν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἴσον καὶ ἡμεῖς
 ἀξιοῦμεν, μὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα μισεῖσθαι καὶ κολά-
 ζεσθαι (τί γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς κακίαν τελεῖ;), ἀλλὰ
 κρίνεσθαι ἐφ' ὅτων ἂν καὶ εὐθύνη τις, καὶ ἢ ἀφίεσθαι ἀπο-
 λυομένους τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀλικομέ-
 νους πονηροὺς, μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ Χριστιανὸς
 πονηρὸς, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀδική-
 ματι. Οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας κρινομένους ὁρῶμεν.
 10. Οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πρὸ κρίσεως διὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἢ τέχνην
 ἀγαθὸς ἢ πονηρὸς τῇ δικαστῇ εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ δόξας μὲν
 εἶναι ἄδικος κολάζεται, οὐδὲν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ προστριψάμενος

ἐγκλημα (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πονηρὸς ὁ μὴ ὡς νόμος φιλοσοφῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη ἀναίτιος), ἀπολυσάμενος δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς ἀφίεται. Ἔστω δὴ τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· ὁ τῶν κρινομένων ἐξεταζέσθω βίος, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα παντὸς ἀφείσθω ἐγκλήματος. 11. Ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι ἀρχομένῳ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου δεηθῆναι ὑμῶν, μέγιστοι αὐτοκράτορες, ἴσους ἡμῖν ἀκροατὰς γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ φήμῃ συναπενεχθέντας προκατασχεθῆναι, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ φιλομαθὲς καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ τῷ κατ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ. Ὑμεῖς τε γὰρ οὐ πρὸς ἀγνοίας ἐξαμαρτήσετε καὶ ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρίτου τῶν πολλῶν φήμης ἀπολυσάμενοι, παυσόμεθα πολεμούμενοι.

III. 12. Τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθείτητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις. Ἄλλα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, μηδενὸς γένους φείσῃσθε, ἐπεξέλθετε δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι· σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ προῤῥίζους ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνετε, εἰ γέ τις Χριστιανῶν ζῇ δίκην θηρίων. Καίτοι γε καὶ τὰ θηρία τῶν ὁμογενῶν οὐχ ἄπτεται, καὶ νόμῳ φύσεως καὶ πρὸς ἓνα καιρὸν τὸν τῆς τεκνοποιίας, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀδείας μίγνυνται, γνωρίζει δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ὠφελεῖται. 13. Εἴ τις οὖν καὶ τῶν θηρίων ἀνημερώτερος, τίνα οὗτος πρὸς τὰ τηλικαῦτα ὑποσχὼν δίκην καὶ πρὸς ἀξίαν κεκολάσθαι νομισθήσεται; Εἰ δὲ λογοποιῖται ταῦτα καὶ διαβολαὶ κεναὶ, φυσικῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς κακίας ἀντικειμένης καὶ πολεμούντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν ἐναντίων θείῳ νόμῳ, καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τούτων ἀδικεῖν ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, κελεύοντες μὴ μηνύειν, πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι βίου, δογμάτων, τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς, καὶ οὕτω ποτὲ συγχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν οὐδὲν πλέον τοῖς διώκουσιν ἡμᾶς. Νικήσομεν γὰρ αὐτούς, ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ἀόκνως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιδιδόντες.

IV. 14. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι· πρὸς ἓν ἕκαστον

ἀπαντήσω τῶν ἐκκλημάτων, μὴ καὶ γελοῖον ᾗ τοὺς λέγον-
 τας μὴ ἐλέγχειν· Διαγόρα μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀθεότητα ἐπε-
 κάλουν Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν Ὀρφικὸν εἰς μέσον κατ-
 ατιθέντι λόγον καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβείρων
 δημεύοντι μυστήρια καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἵνα τὰς γογγύ-
 λας ἐφοῖ κατακόπτοντι ξόανον, ἄντικρυς δὲ ἀποφαινομένῳ
 μὴδ' ὅλως εἶναι θεόν. 15. Ἡμῖν δέ, διαιροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς
 ὕλης τὸν θεόν, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἕτερον μὲν τι εἶναι τὴν ὕλην
 ἄλλο δὲ τὸν θεόν καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου πολὺ (τὸ μὲν γὰρ θεῖον
 ἀγέννητον εἶναι καὶ αἰδῖον, νῦν μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ θεωρούμενον,
 τὴν δὲ ὕλην γεννητὴν καὶ φθαρτήν), μὴ τι οὐκ ἀλόγως τὸ
 τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐπικαλοῦσιν ὄνομα; 16. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφρο-
 νοῦμεν ὅμοια τῷ Διαγόρᾳ, τοσαῦτα ἔχοντες πρὸς θεοσεβ-
 εϊαν ἐνέχυρα, τὸ εὐτακτον, τὸ διὰ παντὸς σύμφωνον, τὸ
 μέγεθος, τὴν χροίαν, τὸ σχῆμα, τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου,
 εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μὴ θεοσεβεῖν δόξα καὶ ἡ τοῦ
 ἐλαύνεσθαι αἰτία προσετρίβετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν
 εἶνα θεὸν ἄγει τὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴν, αὐτὸν μὲν
 οὐ γενόμενον (ὅτι τὸ ὄν οὐ γίνεται ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν), πάντα
 δὲ διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου πεποιηκότα, ἐκάτερα ἀλόγως
 πάσχομεν, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορευόμεθα καὶ διωκόμεθα.

V. 17. Καὶ ποιηταὶ μὲν καὶ φιλόσοφοι οὐκ ἔδοξαν ἄθεοι,
 ἐπιστήσαντες περὶ θεοῦ. Ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν
 κατὰ κοινὴν πρόληψιν ἀνεπιστημόνως ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν
 διαπορῶν·

ὦφειλε δ', εἴπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ

Ζεὺς, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δυστυχή κατιστάναι.

18. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἐπιστήμην νοητοῦ ὡς ἔχει νοῦς
 δογματίζων·

Ὅρας τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα

Καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλας;

Τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

19. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰς οὐσίας, αἷς ἐπικατηγορεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα συμβέβηκεν, ὑποκειμένας ἑώρα (Ζῆνα γάρ, ὅστις ἐστὶ Ζεὺς, οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ) οὔτε τὰ ὀνόματα κατ' ὑποκειμένων κατηγορεῖσθαι πραγμάτων. (Ἦν γὰρ αἱ οὐσίαι οὐχ ὑπόκεινται, τί πλέον αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων;) Τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὅφει τῶν ἀδήλων νοῶν τὰ φαινόμενα ἀέρος, αἰθέρος, γῆς. 20. Οὐ οὖν τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ὑφ' οὗ τῷ πνεύματι ἡνιοχεῖται, τοῦτον καταλαμβάνετο εἶναι θεόν, συνάδοντος τούτῳ καὶ Σοφοκλέους·

Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν θεός,

Ὃς οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακράν,

πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῦ κάλλους τὰ ἐκείνου πληρομένην ἑκάτερα, καὶ ποῦ δεῖ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὅτι ἓνα δεῖ εἶναι, διδάσκων.

VI. 21. Καὶ Φιλόλαος δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν φρουρᾷ πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περιελθῆσθαι λέγων, καὶ τὸ ἓνα εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἄνω-τέρῳ τῆς ὕλης δεικνύει. Λύσις δὲ καὶ Ὁψιμος ὁ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἄρρητον ὀρίζεται τὸν θεόν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὴν παρὰ τὸν ἐγγυτάτω ὑπεροχὴν. Εἰ δὲ μέγιστος μὲν ἀριθμὸς ὁ δέκα κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς, ὁ τετρακτὺς τε ὦν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀριθμητικούς καὶ τοὺς ἀρμονίους περιέχων λόγους, τούτῳ δὲ ἐγγὺς παράκειται ὁ ἐννέα, μονάς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν εἷς. Ἐνὶ γὰρ ὑπερέχει ὁ μέγιστος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω ἐλάχιστον αὐτῷ. 22. Πλάτων δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ οὐχ ὥς ἐπιδεικνύων τὰ δόγματα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβές, οὕτως ἂν εἰρήκασιν περὶ θεοῦ διέξιμι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσον συνέσει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βασιλείας πάντων ὑπερέχετε τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἀκριβοῦν πάντων κρατεῖτε, οὕτω κατ' ἕκαστον παιδείας μέρος κατορθοῦντες ὥς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇς μόριον ἀποτεμνόμενοι. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον δεικνύειν ἄνευ παραθέσεως ὀνομάτων ὅτι μὴ μόνοι εἰς μονάδα τὸν θεὸν κατ-

ακλείομεν, ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας ἐτραπόμην. 23. Φησὶν οὖν ὁ Πλάτων· Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν· ἓνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδίου νοῶν Θεόν. Εἰ δ' οἶδεν καὶ ἄλλους, οἷον ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, ἀλλ' ὥς γενητοὺς οἶδεν αὐτούς· Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἅλута ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος· τὸ μὲν οὖν δεῖξεν πᾶν λυτόν. 24. Εἰ τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄθεος Πλάτων, ἓνα τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων νοῶν ἀγέννητον Θεόν, οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄθεοι ὑφ' οὗ λόγῳ δεδημιούργηται καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεύματι συνέχεται τὰ πάντα τοῦτον εἰδότες καὶ κρατοῦντες Θεόν. 25. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἓνα ἄγοντες οἰοῦναι ζῶον σύνθετον, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεσθηκότα λέγουσι τὸν Θεόν, σῶμα μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰθέριον νομίζοντες, τοὺς τε πλανωμένους ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν σφαῖραν τῶν ἀπλανῶν, κινούμενα κυκλοφορητικῶς, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κινήσει τοῦ σώματος λόγον, αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ κινούμενον, αἴτιον δὲ τῆς τούτου κινήσεως γινόμενον. 26. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, κἂν ταῖς προσηγορίαις κατὰ τὰς παραλλάξεις τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς φασὶ τὸ πνεῦμα χωρεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ, πληθύνωσι τὸ θεῖον τοῖς ὀνόμασι, τῷ γοῦν ἔργῳ ἓνα νομίζουσι τὸν Θεόν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῶ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γενέσεις κόσμου, ἐμπειριεληφὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς σπερματικούς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίνεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ διήκει δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ θεὸς εἷς κατ' αὐτούς, Ζεὺς μὲν κατὰ τὸ ζέον τῆς ὕλης ὀνομαζόμενος, Ἥρα δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τῆς ὕλης μέρος δι' ἧς κεχώρηκε καλούμενος.

VII. 27. Ὅταν οὖν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἓν τὸ θεῖον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον κἂν μὴ θέλωσι τοῖς πᾶσι συμφωνῇται ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων παραγινόμενοις, ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατύνωμεν τὸν διακοσμήσαντα τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, τίς ἢ

αἰτία τοῖς μὲν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐξεῖναι καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν περὶ τοῦ Θεῖου ἃ θέλουσιν, ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ κεῖσθαι νόμον, οἱ ἔχομεν ὃ τι καὶ νοοῦμεν καὶ ὁρῶς πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι, ἀληθείας σημείοις καὶ λόγοις παραστήσαι; 28. Ποιηταὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπέβαλον στοχαστικῶς, κινήθοντες μὲν κατὰ συμπάθειαν τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνοῆς ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἕκαστος ζητῆσαι, εἰ δυνατός εὐρεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· τοσοῦτον δὲ δυνηθέντες ὅσον περινοῆσαι οὐχ εὕρηται, ὡς οὐ παρὰ Θεοῦ περὶ Θεοῦ ἀξιόσαντες μαθεῖν ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος· διὸ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλως ἐδογματίσεν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ περὶ ὕλης καὶ περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ περὶ κόσμου. 29. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧν νοοῦμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἔχομεν προφήτας μάρτυρας, οἱ πνεύματι ἐνθέψιν ἐκπεφωνήκασιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἵποτε δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, συνέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ ὄντως Θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους προὔχοντες, ὡς ἔστιν ἄλογον παραλιπόντας πιστεύειν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεύματι, ὡς ὅργανα κεκνηκότι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν στόματα, προσέχειν δόξαις ἀνθρωπίναις.

VIII. 30. "Οτι τοίνυν εἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντός ποιητῆς Θεὸς οὕτως σκέψασθε, ἵν' ἔχητε καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἡμῶν τῆς πίστεως. Εἰ δύο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ πλείους ἦσαν Θεοί, ἦτοι ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῃ ἦσαν ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. 31. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῃ εἶναι οὐκ ἡδύναντο. Οὐ γὰρ εἰ Θεοὶ ὅμοιοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀγέννητοι οὐχ ὅμοιοι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ γενητὰ ὅμοια τοῖς παραδείγμασι, τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα ἀνόμοια, οὔτε ἀπὸ τινος οὔτε πρὸς τινα γενόμενα. Εἰ δέ, ὡς χεῖρ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πούς περὶ ἐν σώμα εἰσιν τὰ μέρη, ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπληροῦντες, ὁ Θεὸς εἷς; Καίτοι ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης, παρὸ γενητὸς καὶ φθαρτός, συγκείμενος καὶ διαιρούμενος εἰς μέρη· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος, οὐκ ἄρα συνεστὼς ἐκ μερῶν. 32. Εἰ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος αὐ-

τῶν, ὄντος τοῦ τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότος ἀνωτέρω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ περὶ ᾧ ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, ποῦ ὁ ἕτερος ἢ οἱ λοιποί; 33. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κόσμος σφαιρικός ἀποτελεσθεὶς οὐρανοῦ κύκλοις ἀποκέκλεισται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητῆς ἀνωτέρω τῶν γεγονότων ἐπέχων αὐτὸν τῇ τούτων προνοίᾳ, τίς ὁ τοῦ ἑτέρου Θεοῦ ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τόπος; Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστίν, ὅτι ἑτέρου ἐστίν· οὔτε περὶ τὸν κόσμον, ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητῆς Θεός. Εἰ δὲ μήτε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶ μήτε περὶ τὸν κόσμον (τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν πᾶν ὑπὸ τούτου κατέχεται), ποῦ ἐστιν; Ἀνωτέρω τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; Ἐν ἑτέρῳ κόσμῳ ἢ περὶ ἕτερον; Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἢ περὶ ἕτερον, οὔτε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἔτι (οὐ γὰρ κόσμον κρατεῖ), οὔτε αὐτὸς δυνάμει μέγας ἐστίν (ἐν γὰρ περιωρισμένῳ τόπῳ ἐστίν). Εἰ δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἑτέρῳ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν (πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου πεπληρωται) οὔτε περὶ ἕτερον (πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου κατέχεται), καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν, οὐκ ὄντος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν. 34. Ἡ τί ποιεῖ, ἑτέρου μὲν ὄντος οὐ ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνωτέρω ὦν τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκ ὦν δὲ οὔτε ἐν κόσμῳ οὔτε περὶ κόσμον; Ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τι ἕτερον, ἵνα που στῇ; Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ τίς ἐστὶ τόπος, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόσμον τούτου πεπληρωκότος; Ἀλλὰ προνοεῖ; Καὶ μὴν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ προνοεῖ, πεποίηκεν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖ μήτε προνοεῖ μήτε ἐστὶ τόπος ἕτερος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν, εἰς οὗτος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μόνος ὁ ποιητῆς τοῦ κόσμου Θεός.

IX. 35. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐννοίαις ἀπηρκύμεθα, ἀνθρωπικὸν ἄν τις εἶναι τὸν κατ' ἡμᾶς ἐνόμισε λόγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ φωναὶ τῶν προφητῶν πιστοῦσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς λογισμούς (νομίζω καὶ ὑμᾶς, φιλομαθεστάτους καὶ ἐπιστημονεστάτους ὄντας, οὐκ ἀνοήτους γεγονέναι οὔτε τῶν Μωσέως οὔτε τῶν Ἡσαίου καὶ Ἰερεμίου καὶ τῶν λοι-

πῶν προφητῶν, οἱ κατ' ἕκτασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν κινήσαντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ Θείου πνεύματος ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν, συγχρησαμένου τοῦ πνεύματος ὡσεὶ καὶ ἀνλητῆς αὐλὸν ἐμπνεύσαι), τί οὖν οὗτοι; Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν. 36. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἐγὼ Θεὸς πρῶτος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι Θεός. Ὁμοίως· Ἐμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος Θεὸς καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται· ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ. 37. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους· Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου. Ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; Καταλείπω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βιβλίων γενομένοις, ἀκριβέστερον τὰς ἐκείνων ἐξετάσαι προφητείας, ὅπως μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λογισμοῦ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπήρειαν ἀποσκευάσῃτε.

X. 38. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄθεοι μὴ εἶναι, ἓνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδῖον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀχώρητον, νῆ μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβανόμενον, φωτὶ καὶ κάλλει καὶ πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει ἀνεκδιγήτῳ περιεχόμενον, ὑφ' οὗ γεγένηται τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ διακεκόσμηται καὶ συγκρατεῖται, Θεὸν ἄγοντες, ἱκανῶς μοι δέδεικται. 39. Νοοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ νῖδον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ μή μοι γελοῖόν τις νομίσῃ τὸ νῖδον εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ. Οὐ γὰρ ὥς ποιηταὶ μυθοποιοῦσιν, οὐδὲν βελτίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεικνύντες τοὺς Θεούς, ἢ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἢ περὶ τοῦ νῖου πεφρονήκαμεν. 40. Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ὁ νῖος τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ· πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νῖου. Ὀντος δὲ τοῦ νῖου ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν νῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος, νοῦς καὶ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ νῖος τοῦ Θεοῦ. 41. Εἰ δὲ δι' ὑπερβολὴν συνέσεως σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἔπεισιν, ὁ παῖς τί βούλεται, ἐρῶ διὰ βραχείων

πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι τῷ πατρί, οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον (ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεός, νοῦς αἰδῖος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λόγον, αἰδῖως λογικὸς ὢν), ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν ὑλικῶν ζυμάντων, ἀποίου φύσεως καὶ γῆς ἀχρείας ὑποκειμένων δίκην, μεμιγμένων τῶν παχυμερεστέρων πρὸς τὰ κοινότερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια εἶναι προελθών. 42. Συνάδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα· Κύριος γάρ, φησίν, ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπορρόοιαν εἶναι φαμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρόον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. 43. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσῃ, λέγοντας Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; 44. Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεολογικὸν ἡμῶν ἴσταται μέρος· ἀλλὰ καὶ πληθὺς ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν φαμεν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου διένειμε καὶ διέταξε περὶ τε τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν.

XI. 45. Εἰ δὲ ἀκριβῶς διέξιμι τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον, μὴ θαυμάσητε· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ συναποφέρησθε γνώμῃ, ἔχητε δὲ τάληθές εἰδέναι, ἀκριβολογοῦμαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν δογμάτων οἷς προσέχομεν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπικοῖς οὐσιν ἀλλὰ Θεοφάτοις καὶ Θεοδιδάκτοις, πείσαι ἡμᾶς μὴ ὡς περὶ ἀθέων ἔχειν δυνάμεθα. 46. Τίνες οὖν ἡμῶν οἱ λόγοι οἷς ἐντρεφόμεθα; Λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὃς τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. 47. Ἐπιτρέψατε ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου

ἐξακούστου μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς γεγονότος ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἀναγαγεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλέων φιλοσόφων ἀπολογούμενον. Τίνες γὰρ ἢ τῶν τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύνοντων καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας διαλύνοντων καὶ τὰς ἐτυμολογίας σαφηνιζόντων, ἢ τῶν τὰ ὁμῶνυμα καὶ συνώνυμα καὶ κατηγορήματα καὶ ἀξιώματα καὶ τί τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τί τὸ κατηγορούμενον, οἱ εὐδαίμονας ἀποτελεῖν διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ὑπισχνοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας, οὕτως ἐκκεκαθαρμένοι εἰσὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὸ μετριώτατον, κακῶς ἀγορεύειν τοὺς προκατάρξαντας λοιδορίας εὐλογεῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων εἰς τὸ ζῆν προσεύχεσθαι; Οἱ τούναντίον αἰεὶ διατελοῦσι κακῶς τὰ ἀπὸρρήτα ἑαυτοῖς ταῦτα μεταλλεύοντες, καὶ αἰεὶ τι ἐργάσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντες κακόν, τέχνην λόγων καὶ οὐκ ἐπίδειξιν ἔργων τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοι. 48. Παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν εὐροῖτε ἂν ἰδιώτας καὶ χειροτέχνας καὶ γραῖδια, εἰ λόγῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν παριστᾶν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἔργῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως ὠφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένους· οὐ γὰρ λόγους διαμνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἀγαθὰς ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· παῖοι μὴ ἀντιτύπτειν καὶ ἀρπαζόμενοι μὴ δικάζεσθαι, τοῖς αἰτοῦσι διδόναι καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἑαυτούς.

XII. 49. Ἄρα τοίνυν, εἰ μὴ ἐφεστηκέναι θεὸν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἐνομίζομεν, οὕτως ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεκαδαίρομεν; Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πεπεσμέθα ὠφέλειαν παντὸς τοῦ ἐνταῦθα βίου λόγον τῷ πεποιηκότι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν κόσμον θεῷ, τὸν μέτριον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητον βίον αἰρούμεθα, οὐδὲν τηλικούτον πείσεσθαι κακὸν ἐνταῦθα νομίζοντες, κἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶς ἀφαιρῶνται τινες, ὧν ἐκεῖ κομιούμεθα τοῦ πρᾶου καὶ φιλανθρώπου καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς βίου παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δικαστοῦ. 50. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν δικάσειν καὶ

κολάσειν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἔφη, ἡμεῖς δέ, κὰν Μίνως τις κὰν Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ κὰν ὁ τοῦτων πατήρ, οὐδὲ τοῦτόν φαμεν διαφεύξασθαι τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 51. Εἴθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν βίον τοῦτον νομίζοντες, φάγωμεν καὶ πίνωμεν, αὖριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν, καὶ τὸν θάνατον βαθὺν ὕπνον καὶ λήθην τιθέμενοι (ὕπνω καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάονε) πιστεύονται Θεοσεβεῖν· ἄνθρωποι δέ, τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγου καὶ μικροῦ τινος ἄξιον βίον λελογισμένοι, ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παραπεμπόμενοι τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον εἰδέναι, τίς ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐνότης, τίς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κοινωνία, τί τὸ πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσοῦτων ἑνώσις καὶ διαίρεσις ἐνουμένων, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, πολὺ δὲ καὶ κρείττονα ἢ εἰπεῖν λόγῳ τὸν ἐκδεχόμενον βίον εἰδότες, ἐὰν καθαροὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ παντὸς παραπεμφθῶμεν ἀδικήματος, μέχρι τοσοῦτου δὲ φιλανθρωπότατοι ὥστε μὴ μόνον στέργειν τοὺς φίλους (Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶτε, φησὶν, τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας καὶ δανείζετε τοῖς δανείζουσιν ὑμῖν, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;), τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον βιοῦντες βίον, ἵνα κριθῆναι διαφύγωμεν, ἀπιστούμεθα Θεοσεβεῖν; 52. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μικρὰ ἀπὸ μεγάλων καὶ ὀλίγα ἀπὸ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμῖν ἐνοχλοῖημεν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸν ὀρὸν δοκιμάζοντες μικρῇ μέρει τοῦ παντὸς τὸ πᾶν εἰ καλὸν δοκιμάζουσιν.

XIII. 53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπικαλούντων ἡμῖν τὴν ἀθεότητα, οὐδ' ὄναρ τί ἐστι Θεὸν ἐγνωκότες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀθεώρητοι ὄντες τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ λόγου, μετροῦντες τὴν εὐσέβειαν θυσιῶν νόμῳ, ἐπικαλοῦσι τὸ μὴ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσι Θεοὺς ἄγειν, σκέψασθέ μοι αὐτοκράτορες ὧδε περὶ ἐκατέρων, καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τοῦ μὴ θύειν. 54. Ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατήρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ κνίσσης οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρῶν καὶ θυμαμάτων εὐωδίας, αὐτὸς ὦν ἡ τελεία εὐωδία, ἀνε-

δεῖς καὶ ἀπροσδεής· ἀλλὰ θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γινώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε καὶ συνεσφαίρωσε τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ τὴν γῆν κέντρον δίκην ἥδρασε, τίς συνήγαγε τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας καὶ διέκρινε τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, τίς ἐκόσμησεν ἄστροις τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἐποίησε πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν γῆν ἀναβάλλειν, τίς ἐποίησε ζῶα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐπλασεν. 55. "Ὅταν, ἔχοντες τὸν δημιουργὸν θεὸν συνέχοντα καὶ ἐποπτεύοντα ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη καθ' ἣν ἄγει τὰ πάντα, ἐπαίρωμεν ὁσίους χεῖρας αὐτῷ, ποίας ἔτι χρεῖαν ἐκατόμβης ἔχει;

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίῃσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσιν

Λοιβῇ τε κνίσσῃ τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἄνθρωποι,

Λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Τί δέ μοι ὀλοκαυτώσεων, ὣν μὴ δεῖται ὁ θεός; Καίτοι προσφέρειν δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν.

XIV. 56. 'Ο δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ προσιέναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσι θεοὺς ἄγειν πάνυ αὐτοῖς εὐήθης λόγος. 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἡμῖν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἀθεότητα, ἐπεὶ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἷς ἴσασι νομίζομεν, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφωνοῦσι περὶ θεῶν.

57. 'Αλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Κελεὸν καὶ Μετάνειραν ἱδρυνται θεούς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μενέλεων, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑορτάζουσιν, Ἰλιεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούοντες Ἑκτορα φέρουσι, Κεῖοι Ἀρισταῖον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες, Θάσιοι Θεαγένην, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ φόνος Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐγένετο, Σάμιοι Λύσανδρον ἐπὶ τοσαύταις σφαγαῖς καὶ τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς, Ἀλκμᾶν καὶ Ἡσίοδος Μήδειαν καὶ Νιόβην Κίλικες, Σικελοὶ Φίλιππον τὸν Βουτακίδου, Ὀνήσιλον Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιοι. Ἐπιλείπει μὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τὸ πλήθος καταλέγοντα. 58. "Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς διαφωνῶσι περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς θεῶν, τί ἡμῖν μὴ συμφερομένοις ἐπικαλοῦσι; Τὸ δὲ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὴ καὶ γε-

λοῖον ᾗ; Τύπτονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσι καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν θυμαστόν· οἱ γὰρ καὶ τὰ θηρία θεοὺς ἄγουσι καὶ ξυρῶνται ἐπὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ θάπτουσιν ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοτελεῖς κοπετοὺς ἐγείρουσιν. Ἄν τοίνυν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι μὴ κοινῶς ἐκείνοις θεοσεβοῦμεν, ἀσεβῶμεν, πᾶσαι μὲν πόλεις πάντα δὲ ἔθνη ἀσεβοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάντες ἄγουσι θεοὺς.

XV. 59. Ἄλλ' ἑστῶσαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄγοντες. Τί οὖν; Ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοί, διακρίναι οὐ δυνάμενοι τί μὲν ὕλη τί δὲ θεὸς πόσον δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν, προσίασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης εἰδώλοις, δι' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ διακρίνοντες καὶ χωρίζοντες τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὸ γενητόν, τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ νοητὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὸ προσ-
ῆκον ὄνομα ἀποδιδόντες, προσελευσόμεθα καὶ προσκυνή-
σομεν τὰ ἀγάλματα; 60. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτόν ὕλη καὶ θεός, δύο ὀνόματα καθ' ἑνὸς πράγματος, τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα, τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον οὐ νομίζοντες θεοὺς, ἀσεβοῦμεν. Εἰ δὲ διεστᾶσι πάμπλου ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον τεχνίτης καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ παρασκευή, τί ἐγκαλούμεθα; 61. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κεραμεὺς καὶ ὁ πηλός (ὕλη μὲν ὁ πηλός, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ κεραμεύς), καὶ ὁ θεὸς δημιουργός, ὑπακούουσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ὕλη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην. Ἄλλ' ὡς ὁ πηλός καθ' ἑαυτὸν σκευὴ γενέσθαι χωρὶς τέχνης ἀδύνατος, καὶ ἡ πανδεχὴς ὕλη ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διάκρισιν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ κόσμον οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν. 62. Ὡς δὲ οὐ τὸν κέραμον προτιμότερον τοῦ ἐργασαμένου αὐτὸν ἔχομεν οὐδὲ τὰς φιάλας καὶ χρυσίδας τοῦ χαλκεύσαντος, ἀλλ' εἴ τι περὶ ἐκείνας δεξιὸν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὸν τεχνίτην ἐπαίνουμέν, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι δόξαν καρπούμενος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν κεκοσμημένων οὐχ ὕλη τὴν δόξαν

ἢ ὅσον ἐκελεύσθησαν ἔξεστιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ ἰδεῖν τῇ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τῇ τῆς ὕλης φύσει. 67. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων· Ὁν γὰρ οὐρανόν, φησί, καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνόμακεν, πολλῶν μὲν μετέσχηκε μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινώνηκε σώματος· ὅθεν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρῳ τυγχάνειν ἀδύνατον. Εἰ τοίνυν θαυμάζων τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς τέχνης οὐ προσκυνῶ αὐτὰ ὡς θεούς, εἰδὼς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς λύσεως λόγον, ὧν οἶδα ἀνθρώπους δημιουργοὺς πῶς ταῦτα προσείπω θεούς; Σκέψασθε δέ μοι διὰ βραχέων.

XVII. 68. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀπολογούμενον ἀκριβεστέρους παρέχειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι νεώτερα, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων, ὅτι χθῆς καὶ πρώην γεγόνασιν, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν· ἴστε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἀξιολογώτερον, ὡς ἂν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοῖς παλαιοῖς συγγινόμενοι. Φημὶ οὖν Ὀρφέα καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον εἶναι τοὺς καὶ γένη καὶ ὀνόματα δόντας τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις θεοῖς. 69. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω πρεσβυτέρους ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλείοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες Θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. 70. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνες, μέχρι μήπω πλαστικὴ καὶ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴ ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐνομίζοντο, Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου καὶ Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικωνίου καὶ Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ κόρης Κορινθίας ἐπιγενομένων· καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρεθείσης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου, ἵππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράφαντος, γράφικῃς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, ἐν πίνακι λελευκωμένῳ σκιάς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείφαντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόρης ἡ κοροπλαστικὴ εὐρέθη· ἐρωτικῶς γάρ τινος ἔχουσα περιέγραφεν αὐτοῦ

καὶ τὴν τιμὴν δικαίαν ἔχει ἄλλ' ὁ δημιουργὸς αὐτῆς Θεός. Ὡστε, εἰ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης ἄγοιμεν Θεούς, ἀναισθητεῖν τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ δύζομεν, τὰ λυτὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ τῇ αἰδίῳ ἐξισοῦντες.

XVI. 63. Καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει περιέχων καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῶν τε ἐν τῇ λοξῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄρκτον καὶ τῇ σχήματι σφαιρικῇ ὄντι· ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τεχνίτην αὐτοῦ προσκυνητέον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνούμενοι ὑπήκοοι, παραλιπόντες ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δεσπότας θεραπεύειν, παρ' ὧν ὧν ἂν δέοιντο καὶ τύχοιεν, ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς καταγωγῆς ὑμῶν καταφεύγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν βασιλικὴν ἐστὶν τηνάλλως ἐντυχόντες αὐτῇ θαυμάζουσι καλῶς ἡσκημένην, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἄγουσι τῇ δόξῃ. 64. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἀσκεῖτε τὰς καταγωγὰς βασιλικάς, ἡ δὲ κόσμος οὐχ ὡς δεομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν· πάντα γὰρ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν αὐτὸς αὐτῇ, φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, κόσμος τέλειος, πνεῦμα, δύναμις, λόγος. Εἰ τοίνυν ἐμμελὲς ὁ κόσμος ὄργανον κινούμενον ἐν ῥυθμῷ, τὸν ἁρμοσάμενον καὶ πλήσσοντα τοὺς φθόγγους καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐπάδοντα μέλος, οὐ τὸ ὄργανον προσκυνῶ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, παραλιπόντες οἱ ἀθλοθέται τοὺς κιθαριστάς, τὰς κιθάρας στεφανοῦσιν αὐτῶν. 65. Εἴτε, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησί, τέχνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, θαυμάζων αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τῇ τεχνίτῃ πρόσειμι· εἴτε οὐσία καὶ σῶμα, ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, οὐ παραλιπόντες προσκυνεῖν τὸν αἴτιον τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ σώματος Θεὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀσθενῇ στοιχεῖα καταπίπτομεν, τῇ ἀπαθεῖ ἀέρι κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν παθητὴν ὕλην προσκυνοῦντες· εἴτε δυνάμεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου νοεῖ τις, οὐ τὰς δυνάμεις προσιόντες θεραπεύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην. 66. Οὐκ αἰτῶ τὴν ὕλην ἃ μὴ ἔχει, οὐδὲ παραλιπὼν τὸν Θεὸν τὰ στοιχεῖα θεραπεύω, οἷς μηδὲν πλέον

ἢ ὅσον ἐκελεύσθησαν ἔξεστιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ ἰδεῖν τῇ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τῇ τῆς ὕλης φύσει. 67. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων· Ὅν γὰρ οὐρανόν, φησί, καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνύμακεν, πολλῶν μὲν μετέσχηκε μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἀτὰρ οὖν διὰ κεκοινώνηκε σώματος· ὅθεν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρῳ τυγχάνειν ἀδύνατον. Εἰ τοίνυν θαυμάζων τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς τέχνης οὐ προσκυνῶ αὐτὰ ὡς θεούς, εἰδὼς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς λύσεως λόγον, ὧν οἶδα ἀνθρώπους δημιουργοὺς πῶς ταῦτα προσείπω θεούς; Σκέψασθε δέ μοι διὰ βραχείων.

XVII. 68. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀπολογούμενον ἀκριβεστέρους παρέχειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι νεώτερα, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων, ὅτι χθεῖς καὶ πρώην γεγόνασιν, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν· ἴστε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἀξιολογώτερον, ὡς ἂν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοῖς παλαιοῖς συγγινόμενοι. Φημί οὖν Ὀρφέα καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον εἶναι τοὺς καὶ γένη καὶ ὀνόματα δόντας τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις θεοῖς. 69. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω πρεσβυτέρους ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλείοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημῆναντες. 70. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνες, μέχρι μήπω πλαστική καὶ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀνδριάντοποιητικὴ ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐνομίζοντο, Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου καὶ Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικωνίου καὶ Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ κόρης Κορινθίας ἐπιγενομένων· καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρεθείσης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου, ἵππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράψαντος, γράφικῃς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, ἐν πίνακι λελευκωμένῃ σκιάς ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείψαντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόρης ἡ κοροπλαστικὴ εὐρέθη· ἐρωτικῶς γὰρ τινος ἔχουσα περιέγραψεν αὐτοῦ

ἑξακούστου μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς γεγονότος ἐπὶ παρῥή-
 σιαν ἀναγαγεῖν, ὥς ἐπὶ βασιλέων φιλοσόφων ἀπολογού-
 μενον. Τίνες γὰρ ἡ τῶν τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύντων
 καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας διαλύντων καὶ τὰς ἐτυμολογίας σα-
 φηνιζόντων, ἡ τῶν τὰ ὁμώνυμα καὶ συνώνυμα καὶ κατηγο-
 ρήματα καὶ ἀξιώματα καὶ τί τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τί τὸ κατη-
 γορούμενον, οἱ εὐδαίμονας ἀποτελεῖν διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν
 τοιούτων λόγων ὑπischynονται τοὺς συνόντας, οὕτως ἐκ-
 κεκαθαρμένοι εἰσὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὸ μετριώτατον, κακῶς
 ἀγορεύειν τοὺς προκατάρξαντας λαιδορίας εὐλογεῖν, καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων εἰς τὸ ζῆν προσεύχεσθαι; Οἱ
 τοὺναντίον αἰεὶ διατελοῦσι κακῶς τὰ ἀπὸρρήτα ἑαυτοῖς
 ταῦτα μεταλλεύοντες, καὶ αἰεὶ τι ἐργάσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντες
 κακόν, τέχνην λόγων καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδείξιν ἔργων τὸ πρᾶγμα
 πεποιημένοι. 48. Παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν εὖροιτε ἂν ἰδιώτας καὶ
 χειροτέχνους καὶ γραῖδια, εἰ λόγῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν παριστᾶν
 εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἔργῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
 προαιρέσεως ὠφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένους· οὐ γὰρ λόγους
 διαμνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἀγαθὰς ἐπιδεικνύουσιν·
 παίόμενοι μὴ ἀντιτύπτειν καὶ ἀρπαζόμενοι μὴ δικάζεσθαι,
 τοῖς αἰτοῦσι διδόναι καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἀγαπᾶν ὥς ἑαυτούς.

XII. 49. Ἄρα τοίνυν, εἰ μὴ ἐφεισθηκέναι θεὸν τῷ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων γένει ἐνομίζομεν, οὕτως ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἑξεκαθαί-
 ρομεν; Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πεπεσμεθα ὑφέξειν
 παντὸς τοῦ ἐνταῦθα βίου λόγον τῷ πεποιηκότι καὶ ἡμᾶς
 καὶ τὸν κόσμον θεῷ, τὸν μέτριον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ
 εὐκαταφρόνητον βίον αἰρούμεθα, οὐδὲν τηλοκῶτον πείσε-
 σθαι κακὸν ἐνταῦθα νομίζοντες; κἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμᾶς
 ἀφαιρῶνται τινες, ὧν ἐκεί κομιούμεθα τοῦ πράου καὶ φι-
 λανθρώπου καὶ ἐπαικουῦς βίου παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δικαστοῦ.
 50. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν δικάσειν καὶ

κολάσειν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἔφη, ἡμεῖς δέ, κἀν Μίνως τις κἀν Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ κἀν ὁ τούτων πατήρ, οὐδὲ τοῦτόν φαμεν διαφεύξεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 51. Εἴθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν βίον τοῦτον νομίζοντες, φάγωμεν καὶ πίνωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν, καὶ τὸν θάνατον βαθὺν ὕπνον καὶ λήθην τιθέμενοι (ὑπνῶ καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάουε) πιστεύονται Θεοσεβεῖν· ἄνθρωποι δέ, τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγου καὶ μικροῦ τινος ἄξιον βίον λελογισμένοι, ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παραπεμπόμενοι τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον εἰδέναι, τίς ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐνότης, τίς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κοινωνία, τί τὸ πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσοῦτων ἑνώσεις καὶ διαίσεις ἐνουμένων, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, πολὺ δὲ καὶ κρείττονα ἢ εἰπεῖν λόγῳ τὸν ἐκδεχόμενον βίον εἰδότες, ἐὰν καθαροὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ παντὸς παραπεμφθῶμεν ἀδικήματος, μέχρι τοσοῦτου δὲ φιλανθρωπότατοι ὥστε μὴ μόνον στέργειν τοὺς φίλους (Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶτε, φησὶν, τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας καὶ δανείζετε τοῖς δανείζουσιν ὑμῖν, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;), τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον βιοῦντες βίον, ἵνα κριθῆναι διαφύγωμεν, ἀπιστούμεθα Θεοσεβεῖν; 52. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μικρὰ ἀπὸ μεγάλων καὶ ὀλίγα ἀπὸ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον ὑμῖν ἐνοχλοῖημεν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸν ὄρον δοκιμάζοντες μικρῷ μέρει τοῦ παντὸς τὸ πᾶν εἰ καλὸν δοκιμάζουσιν.

XIII. 53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπικαλούντων ἡμῖν τὴν ἀξιοσύνην, οὐδ' ὄναρ τί ἐστὶ Θεὸν ἐγνωκότες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀθεώρητοι ὄντες τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ λόγου, μετροῦντες τὴν εὐσέβειαν θυσίων νόμῳ, ἐπικαλοῦσι τὸ μὴ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσι Θεοὺς ἄγειν, σκέψασθέ μοι αὐτοκράτορες ὧδε περὶ ἐκατέρων, καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τοῦ μὴ θύειν. 54. Ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατήρ οὐ δεῖται αἵματος οὐδὲ κνίσσης οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θυμαμάτων εὐωδίας, αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ τελεία εὐωδία, ἀνε-

δεῆς καὶ ἀπροσδεής· ἀλλὰ θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γινώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε καὶ συνεσφαίρωσε τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ τὴν γῆν κέντρον δίκην ἥδρασε, τίς συνήγαγε τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας καὶ διέκρινε τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, τίς ἐκόσμησεν ἄστροις τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἐποίησε πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν γῆν ἀναβάλλειν, τίς ἐποίησε ζῶα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασεν. 55. "Ὅταν, ἔχοντες τὸν δημιουργὸν θεὸν συνέχοντα καὶ ἐποπτεύοντα ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνῃ καθ' ἣν ἄγει τὰ πάντα, ἐπαίρωμεν ὅσιους χεῖρας αὐτῷ, ποίας ἔτι χρεῖαν ἐκατόμβης ἔχει;

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίῃσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσιν
Λοιβῇ τε κνίσσῃ τε παρατρωπῶς ἄνθρωποι,
Δισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Τί δέ μοι ὀλοκαυτώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ θεός; Καίτοι προσφέρειν δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν.

XIV. 56. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ προσιέναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσι θεοὺς ἄγειν πάνυ αὐτοῖς εὐήθης λόγος. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἡμῖν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἀθεότητα, ἐπεὶ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἷς ἴσασι νομίζομεν, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφωνοῦσι περὶ θεῶν.

57. Ἄλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Κελεὸν καὶ Μετάνειραν ἰδρύνται θεούς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μενέλεων, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑορτάζουσιν, Ἰλιεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούοντες Ἐκτορα φέρουσι, Κεῖοι Ἀρισταῖον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες, Θάσιοι Θεαγένην, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ φόνος Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐγένετο, Σάμιοι Λύσανδρον ἐπὶ τοσαύταις σφαγαῖς καὶ τοσούτοις κακοῖς, Ἀλκμᾶν καὶ Ἡσίοδος Μήδειαν καὶ Νιόβην Κίλικες, Σικελοὶ Φίλιππον τὸν Βουτακίδου, Ὀνήσιλον Ἀμαθούσιοι, Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιοι. Ἐπιλείπει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὸ πληθεὺς καταλέγοντα. 58. "Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς διαφώνῳ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς θεῶν, τί ἡμῖν μὴ συμφερομένοις ἐπικαλοῦσι; Τὸ δὲ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὴ καὶ γε-

λοῖον ᾗ; Τύπτονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσι καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν θυμαστόν· οἳ γε καὶ τὰ θηρία θεοὺς ἄγουσι καὶ ξυρῶνται ἐπεὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ θάπτουσι ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοτελεῖς κοπετοὺς ἐγείρουσιν. Ἄν τοίνυν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι μὴ κοινῶς ἐκείνοις θεοσεβοῦμεν, ἀσεβῶμεν, πᾶσαι μὲν πόλεις πάντα δὲ ἔθνη ἀσεβοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάντες ἄγουσι θεοὺς.

XV. 59. Ἄλλ' ἔστωσαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄγοντες. Τί οὖν; Ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοί, διακρίναι οὐ δυνάμενοι τί μὲν ὕλη τί δὲ θεὸς πόσον δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν, προσίασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης εἰδώλοις, δι' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ διακρίνοντες καὶ χωρίζοντες τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὸ γενητόν, τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ νοητὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὸ προσῆκον ὄνομα ἀποδιδόντες, προσελεύσόμεθα καὶ προσκυνήσομεν τὰ ἀγάλματα; 60. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτόν ὕλη καὶ θεός, δύο ὀνόματα καθ' ἑνὸς πράγματος, τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα, τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον οὐ νομίζοντες θεοὺς, ἀσεβοῦμεν. Εἰ δὲ διεστᾶσι πάμπλου ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὕσον τεχνίτης καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ παρασκευή, τί ἐγκαλούμεθα; 61. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κεραμεὺς καὶ ὁ πηλός (ὕλη μὲν ὁ πηλός, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ κεραμεύς), καὶ ὁ θεὸς δημιουργός, ἑπακούουσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ὕλη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην. Ἄλλ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν σκευὴ γενέσθαι χωρὶς τέχνης ἀδύνατος, καὶ ἡ πανδεχὴς ὕλη ἄνευ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διάκρισιν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ κόσμον οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν. 62. Ὡς δὲ οὐ τὸν κέραμον προτιμότερον τοῦ ἐργασαμένου αὐτὸν ἔχομεν οὐδὲ τὰς φιάλας καὶ χρυσίδας τοῦ χαλκεύσαντος, ἀλλ' εἴ τι περὶ ἐκείνας δεξιὸν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὸν τεχνίτην ἐπαينوῦμεν, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι δόξαν καρπούμενος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν κεκοσμημένων οὐχ ὕλη τὴν δόξαν

καὶ τὴν τιμὴν δικαίαν ἔχει ἀλλ' ὁ δημιουργὸς αὐτῆς Θεός. Ὡστε, εἰ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης ἄγοιμεν Θεούς, ἀναισθητεῖν τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ δόξομεν, τὰ λυτὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ τῷ αἰδίῳ ἐξισοῦντες.

XVI. 63. Καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει περιέχων καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῶν τε ἐν τῷ λοξῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄρκτον καὶ τῷ σχήματι σφαιρικῇ ὄντι· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τεχνίτην αὐτοῦ προσκυνητέον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνούμενοι ὑπήκοοι, παραλιπόντες ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δεσπότας θεραπεύειν, παρ' ὧν ὧν ἂν δέοντο καὶ τύχοιεν, ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς καταγωγῆς ὑμῶν καταφεύγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν βασιλικὴν ἐστίαν τηνάλλως ἐντυχόντες αὐτῇ θαυμάζουσι καλῶς ἡσκημένην, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἄγουσι τῇ δόξῃ. 64. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἀσκεῖτε τὰς καταγωγὰς βασιλικάς, ἡ δὲ κόσμος οὐχ ὡς δεομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν· πάντα γὰρ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν αὐτὸς αὐτῇ, φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, κόσμος τέλειος, πνεῦμα, δύναμις, λόγος. Εἰ τοίνυν ἐμμελὲς ὁ κόσμος ὄργανον κινούμενον ἐν ῥυθμῷ, τὸν ἁρμοσάμενον καὶ πλήσσουντα τοὺς φθόγγους καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐπάδοντα μέλος, οὐ τὸ ὄργανον προσκυνῶ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, παραλιπόντες οἱ ἀθλοθέται τοὺς κιθαριστάς, τὰς κιθάρας στεφανοῦσιν αὐτῶν. 65. Εἴτε, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησί, τέχνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, θαυμάζων αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τῇ τεχνίτῃ πρόσειμι· εἴτε οὐσία καὶ σῶμα, ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, οὐ παραλιπόντες προσκυνεῖν τὸν αἴτιον τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ σώματος Θεὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ στοιχεῖα καταπίπτομεν, τῇ ἀπαθεῖ ἀερί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν παθητὴν ὕλην προσκυνοῦντες· εἴτε δυνάμεις τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου νοεῖ τις, οὐ τὰς δυνάμεις προσιόντες θεραπεύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην. 66. Οὐκ αἰτῶ τὴν ὕλην ἃ μὴ ἔχει, οὐδὲ παραλιπὼν τὸν Θεὸν τὰ στοιχεῖα θεραπεύω, οἷς μὴδὲν πλέον

ἢ ὅσον ἐκελεύσθησαν ἕξεσθιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ ἰδεῖν τῇ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τῇ τῆς ὕλης φύσει. 67. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων· Ὁν γὰρ οὐρανόν, φησί, καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνύμακεν, πολλῶν μὲν μετέσχηκε μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἀτὰρ οὖν διὰ κεκοινώνηκε σώματος· ὅθεν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρῳ τυγχάνειν ἀδύνατον. Εἰ τοίνυν θαυμάζων τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς τέχνης οὐ προσκυνῶ αὐτὰ ὡς θεούς, εἰδὼς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς λύσεως λόγον, ὧν οἶδα ἀνθρώπους δημιουργοὺς πῶς ταῦτα προσείπω θεούς; Σκέψασθε δέ μοι διὰ βραχέων.

XVII. 68. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀπολογούμενον ἀκριβεστέρους παρέχειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι νεώτερα, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων, ὅτι χθεῖς καὶ πρώην γεγόνασιν, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν· ἵστε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἀξιολογώτερον, ὡς ἂν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοῖς παλαιοῖς συγγινόμενοι. Φημὶ οὖν Ὀρφέα καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον εἶναι τοὺς καὶ γένη καὶ ὀνόματα δόντας τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις θεοῖς. 69. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω πρεσβυτέρους ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλείοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημνάντες. 70. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνες, μέχρι μήπω πλαστικὴ καὶ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀνδριάντοποιητικὴ ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐνομίζοντο, Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου καὶ Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικωνίου καὶ Κλεάνδρους τοῦ Κορινθίου καὶ κόρης Κορινθίας ἐπιγενομένων· καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρέδεισης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου, ἵππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράψαντος, γράφικῃς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, ἐν πίνακι λελευκωμένῃ σκιᾷ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείψαντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόρης ἡ κοροπλαστικὴ εὐρέθη· ἐρωτικῶς γὰρ τινος ἔχουσα περιέγραψεν αὐτοῦ

κοιμωμένου ἐν τοίχῳ τὴν σκιάν, εἶδ' ὁ πατήρ, ἡσθεὶς ἀπαρallάκτιρ οὖσα τῇ ὁμοιότητι (κέραμον δὲ εἰργάζετο), ἀναγλύψας τὴν περιγραφὴν πηλῷ προσανεπλήρωσεν· ὁ τύπος ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ σώζεται. 71. Τοῦτοις δὲ ἐπιγενόμενοι Δαίδαλος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴν καὶ πλαστικὴν προσεξεῦρον. Ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα πραγματείᾳ, ὥς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου τεχνίτην Θεοῦ. 72. Τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηλᾶς· Ἀθηλᾶ γὰρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον, οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ παλαιόν) καὶ τὴν καθεμένην Ἐνδοιοις εἰργάσατο μαθητῆς Δαιδάλου, ὁ δὲ Πύξιος ἔργον Θεοδώρου καὶ Τηλεκλέους, καὶ ὁ Δήλιος καὶ ἡ Ἀρτεμις Τεκταίου καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος τέχνη, ἡ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ Ἡρα καὶ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Σμίλιδος χεῖρες, καὶ Φειδίου τὰ λοιπὰ εἰδῶλα, ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν Κνίδῳ ἑταῖρα Πραξιτέλους τέχνη, ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἔργον Φειδίου. 73. Συνελόντα φάναι, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διαπέφευγεν τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου γεγονέναι. Εἰ τοίνυν Θεοί, τί οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς; Τί δαί εἰσι νεώτεροι τῶν πεποιηκότων; Τί δαί ἔδει αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων καὶ τέχνης; Γῇ ταῦτα καὶ λίθοι καὶ ὕλη καὶ περίεργος τέχνη.

XVIII. 74. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν φασὶ τινες εἰκόνας μὲν εἶναι ταύτας, Θεοὺς δὲ ἐφ' οἷς αἱ εἰκόνες, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἅς ταύταις προσίασι καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐκείνους γίνεσθαι, μὴ εἶναι τε ἕτερον τρόπον τοῖς Θεοῖς ἢ τοῦτον προσελθεῖν·

Χαλεποὶ δὲ Θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, καὶ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν τεκμήρια παρέχουσι τὰς ἐνίων εἰδῶλων ἐνεργείας, φέρε ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δύναμιν αὐτῶν. 75. Δεήσομαι δὲ ὑμῶν, μέγιστοι αὐτοκρατόρων, πρὸ τοῦ λόγου ἀληθεῖς παρεχομένῃ τοὺς λογισμοὺς

συγγνωῖναι· οὐ γὰρ προκείμενόν μοι ἐλέγχειν τὰ εἰδωλα, ἀλλὰ ἀπολυόμενος τὰς διαβολὰς λογισμὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡμῶν παρέχω. Ἐχοίτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον βασιλείαν ἐξετάζειν· ὥς γὰρ ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσι (βασιλέως γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ, φησὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα), οὕτως ἐνὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ υἱῷ νοουμένῳ ἀμερίστω πάντα ὑποτέτακται. 76. Ἐκείνο τοίνυν σκέψασθέ μοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. Οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥς φασιν, ἦσαν οἱ Θεοί, ἀλλ' οὕτως γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὥς γινόμεθα ἡμεῖς. Καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ξυμφωνεῖ· Ὁμήρου μὲν γὰρ λέγοντος·

Ὡκεανὺν τε, Θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
Ὀρφέως δὲ (ὃς καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις διεξῆλθε καὶ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπε καὶ πεπίστευται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀληθέστερον θεολογεῖν, ὃ καὶ Ὁμηρος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ Θεῶν μάλιστα ἔπεται) καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὕδατος συνιστάντος·

Ὡκεανός, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

77. Ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ ἐκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῶων δράκων προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος. 78. Οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ὦόν, ὃ συμπληρούμενον ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐκ παρατριβῆς εἰς δύο ἐρράγη· τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη, τὸ δὲ κατενεχθὲν γῆ. 79. Προῆλθε δὲ καὶ Θεὸς Γῆ διὰ σώματος· Οὐρανὸς δὲ Γῆ μιχθεὶς γεννᾷ θηλείας μὲν Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσιν, Ἀτροπον, ἄνδρας δὲ ἐκατόγχειρας Κόττυν, Γύγην, Βριάρεων, καὶ Κύκλωπας Βρόντην καὶ Στερόπην καὶ Ἄργον· οὓς καὶ δῆσας κατεπαρτάρωσεν, ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῆς ἀρχῆς

μαθών. Διὸ καὶ ὀργισθεῖσα ἡ Γῆ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐγέννησε.

Κούρους δ' οὐρανίωνας ἐγένετο πότνια Γαῖα,

Οὓς δὴ καὶ Τιτῆνας ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν,

Οὐνεκα τισάσθην μέγαν Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα.

XIX. 80. Αὕτη ἀρχὴ γενέσεως περὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς Θεοὺς τε καὶ τὸ πᾶν. Τί ἐκείνο τοίνυν; Ἐκαστον γὰρ τῶν τεθεολογημένων ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὧν νοεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ γεγύνασιν οὐκ ὄντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν θεολογοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγέννητόν τι καὶ ἔστιν αἰδίων, ἢ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτόν ἐστι. 81. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως, ἐτέρως δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι. Τί τὸ ὧν αἰεὶ, γένεσίν τε οὐκ ἔχον, ἢ τί τὸ γενόμενον μὲν, ὧν δὲ οὐδέποτε; Περὶ νοητοῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ διαλεγόμενος ὁ Πλάτων τὸ μὲν αἰεὶ ὄν, τὸ νοητόν, ἀγέννητον εἶναι διδάσκει, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ αἰσθητόν, γενητόν, ἀρχόμενον εἶναι καὶ πανόμενον. Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς τῷ λόγῳ ἐκπυρωθήσεσθαι τὰ πάντα καὶ πάλιν ἔσεσθαι φασιν, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόσμου λαβόντος. 82. Εἰ δέ, καίτοι δισσοῦ αἰτίου κατ' αὐτοὺς ὄντος, τοῦ μὲν δραστηρίου καὶ καταρχομένου, καθὸ ἡ πρόνοια, τοῦ δὲ πάσχοντος καὶ τρεπομένου, καθὸ ἡ ὕλη, ἀδύνατον δὲ ἔστι καὶ προνοοῦμενον ἐπὶ ταύτῳ μείναι τὸν κόσμον γενόμενον, πῶς ἢ τούτων μένει σύστασις, οὐ φύσει ὄντων ἀλλὰ γενομένων; 83. Τί δὲ τῆς ὕλης κρείττους οἱ θεοί, τὴν σύστασιν ἐξ ὕδατος ἔχοντες; Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρχή. Ἐκ τε ἀπλῶν καὶ μονοειδῶν τί ἂν συστήναι στοιχείων δύναιτο; Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ τεχνίτου καὶ ὕλης τῷ τεχνίτῃ. Ἡ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο τὰ ἐκτυπώματα χωρὶς τῆς ὕλης ἢ τοῦ τεχνίτου; Οὐτε πρεσβυτέραν λόγον ἔχει εἶναι τὴν ὕλην τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ποιητικὸν αἶτιον προκατάρχειν τῶν γινομένων ἀνάγκη.

XX. 84. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τοῦ φῆσαι γεγονέναι τοὺς

Θεοὺς καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν τὸ ἀπίθανον ἦν
 αὐτοῖς τῆς Θεολογίας, ἐπιδεδειχώς ὅτι οὐδὲν γεννητὸν ὁ
 οὐ καὶ διαλυτὸν, ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν παρεγενόμην τῶν ἐγκλη-
 μάτων. 85. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διατεθείκασιν αὐτῶν τὰ
 σώματα· τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα ὅτι Θεὸς δράκων ἐλκτός, τοὺς
 δὲ ἐκατόγχειρας εἰπόντες, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Διός, ἦν
 ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέας ἢ Δήμητρος αὐτῆς ἐπαιδοποιήσατο,
 δύο μὲν κατὰ φύσιν εἶπον ἔχειν ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
 μετώπῳ δύο καὶ προτομὴν κατὰ τὸ ὁπισθεν τοῦ τραχήλου
 μέρος, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κέρατα, διὸ καὶ τὴν Ῥεαν φοβηθεῖσαν
 τὸ τῆς παιδὸς τέρας φυγεῖν, οὐκ ἐφείσαν αὐτῇ τὴν θηλήν,
 ἔνθεν μυστικῶς μὲν Ἀθηλαῖ κοινῶς δὲ Φερσεφόνη καὶ Κόρη
 κέκληται, οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ οὔσα τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης
 λεγομένη· 86. τοῦτο δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῖς
 ὡς οἴονται διεξεληλύθασιν· Κρόνος μὲν ὡς ἐξέτεμε τὰ αἰ-
 δοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κατέρριψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕρματος
 καὶ ὡς ἐτεκνοκτόνει καταπίνων τῶν παίδων τοὺς ἄρσενας,
 Ζεὺς δὲ ὅτι τὸν μὲν πατέρα δῆσας κατεταρτάρωσε, κατὰ
 καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ὁ Οὐρανός, καὶ πρὸς Τιτᾶνας περὶ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν μητέρα Ῥεαν ἀπαγορεύουσιν
 αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον ἐδίωκε, δρακαίνης δ' αὐτῆς γενομένης καὶ
 αὐτὸς εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν συνδήσας αὐτὴν τῇ κα-
 λουμένῃ Ἡρακλειωτικῇ ἄμματι ἐμίγη, τοῦ σχήματος τῆς
 μίξεως σύμβολον ἢ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ῥάβδος, εἶδ' ὅτι Φερσεφόνη
 τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐμίγη βιασάμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐν δράκοντος
 σχήματι, ἐξ ἧς παῖς Διόνυσος αὐτῇ· 87. ἀνάγκη καὶ το-
 σοῦτον εἰπεῖν· Τί τὸ σεμνὸν ἢ χρηστὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ἱσ-
 τορίας, ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν Θεοὺς εἶναι τὸν Κρόνον, τὸν Δία,
 τὴν Κόρην, τοὺς λοιπούς; Αἱ διαθέσεις τῶν σωμάτων;
 Καὶ τίς ἂν ἄνθρωπος κεκριμένος καὶ ἐν θεωρίᾳ γεγονώς
 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεννηθῆναι πιστεύσαι ἔχιδναν (Ὀρφεύς·

* Ἄν δὲ Φάνης ἄλλην γενεὴν τεκνώσατο δεινὴν

Νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς, προσιδεῖν φοβερῶπόν ἐχιδναν,
 ἥς χαῖται μὲν ἀπὸ κρατὸς καλόν τε πρόσωπον
 ἦν ἐσιδεῖν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη φοβεροῖο δράκοντος
 Αὐχένος ἐξ ἄκρου.)

88. ἡ αὐτὸν τὸν Φάνητα δέξαιτο, θεὸν ὄντα πρωτόγονον
 (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ὤου προχυθείς), ἡ σῶμα ἡ σχῆ-
 μα ἔχειν δράκοντος, ἡ καταποθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὅπως ὁ
 Ζεὺς ἀχώρητος γένοιτο; Εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν διενηνόχασι τῶν
 φανλοτάτων θηρίων (δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ὑποδιαλλάσσειν δεῖ
 τῶν γηίνων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀποκρινομένων τὸ
 θεῖον), οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί. Τί δαὶ καὶ πρόσμιεν αὐτοῖς, ὧν
 κτηνῶν μὲν δίκην ἔχει ἡ γένεσις, αὐτοῖ δὲ θηριόμορφοι καὶ
 δυσειδεῖς;

XXI. 89. Καίτοι εἰ σαρκοειδεῖς μόνον ἔλεγον αὐτοὺς
 καὶ αἷμα ἔχειν καὶ σπέρμα καὶ πάθη ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,
 καὶ τότε ἔδει λῆρον καὶ γέλωτος λόγους τούτους νομίζειν·
 οὔτε γὰρ ὀργὴ οὔτε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὄρεξις οὐδὲ παιδοποιὸν
 σπέρμα ἐν τῇ θεῷ. Ἔστωσαν τοίνυν σαρκοειδεῖς, ἀλλὰ
 κρείττους μὲν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς, ἵνα μὴ Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν βλέ-
 πηται

Σκυζομένη Διὶ πατρί, χόλος δὲ μιν ἄγριος αἰρεῖ,
 Ἥρα δὲ θεωρῆται·

Ἥρῃ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στῆθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσήδα.

90. Κρείττους δὲ λύπης·

Ὡ πόποι, ἡ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τείχος

Ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι· ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ.

Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀμαθεῖς καὶ σκαιοὺς λέγω
 τοὺς ὀργῇ καὶ λύπῃ εἰκοντας. Ὅταν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν
 τε θεῶν τε ὀδύρηται μὲν τὸν νιόν,

Αἰ αἰ ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν

Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι!

ἀδυνατῇ δὲ ὀδυρόμενος τοῦ κινδύνου ἐξαρπάσαι,

Σαρπηδὼν Διὸς υἱός, ὁ δ' οὐδ' ᾧ παιδί ἀμύνει,
τίς οὐκ ἂν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μύθοις φιλοξέους, μάλ-
λον δὲ ἄξέους τῆς ἀμαθείας καταμέμφοιτο ; 91. Ἔστωσαν
σαρκοειδεῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τιτρωσκέσθω μηδὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὑπὸ
Διομήδους τὸ σῶμα,

Οὐτά με Τυδέος υἱὸς ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης,
ἦ ὑπὸ Ἄρεως τὴν ψυχὴν,

Ὡς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἰόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτῃ
Αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, φιλεῖ δ' αἰδέηλον Ἄρηα.

— — Διὰ δὲ χροῖα καλὸν ἔδαιψεν.

Ὁ δεινὸς ἐν πολέμοις, ὁ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τιτάνων τοῦ Διός,
ἀσθενέστερος Διομήδους φαίνεται.

Μαίνεται δ' ὥς ὄτ' Ἄρης ἐγχείσπαλος —.

Σιώπησον Ὅμηρε, θεὸς οὐ μαίνεται. Σὺ δέ μοι καὶ μαι-
φύον καὶ βροτολογόν,

Ἄρες, Ἄρες βροτολογιγέ, μαιφόνε,
διηγῇ τὸν θεόν, καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ διέξει καὶ τὰ δεσμά·
Τὼ δ' ἐς δέμνια βάντε κατέδρασον, ἀμφὶ ἐξ ἐσμοῖ
Τεχνήεντες ἔχυντο πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστοιο,
Οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων ἦν.

92. Οὐ καταβάλλουσι τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον ἄσεβῃ λῆρον περὶ
τῶν θεῶν ; Οὐρανὸς ἐκτέμνεται, δεῖται καὶ καταταρταροῦται
Κρόνος, ἐπανίστανται Τιτᾶνες, Στῦξ ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὴν
μάχην· ἥδη καὶ θνητοὺς αὐτοὺς δεικνύουσιν· ἐρῶσιν ἀλ-
λήλων, ἐρῶσιν ἀνθρώπων.

Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δι' Ἀφροδίτῃ,

Ἰδὼς ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶ ἐννηθεῖσα.

Οὐκ ἐρῶσιν ; Οὐ πάσχουσιν ; Ἡ γὰρ θεοί, καὶ οὐχ ἄψεται
αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμία ! Κἂν σάρκα θεὸς κατὰ θείαν οἰκονομίαν
λάβῃ, ἥδη δοῦλός ἐστιν ἐπιθυμίας ;

Οὐ γὰρ πώποτε μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικὸς
Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς ἐδάμασσεν·

Οὐδ' ὅπότε ἡρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο,
 Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρισιώνης,
 Οὐδ' ὅτε Φοῖνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο,
 Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης, οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,
 Οὐδ' ὅτε Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης,
 Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος, οὐδὲ σεῦ αὐτῆς.

93. Γενητός ἐστι, φθαρτός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἔχων θεοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ θετεύουσιν ἀνθρώποις·

ᾧ δώματ' Ἀδμήτει, ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ

Θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι, θεός περ ὢν·

καὶ βουκολοῦσιν·

Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῃ,

Καὶ τόνδ' ἔσωζον οἶκον.

Οὐκοῦν κρείττων Ἀδμητος τοῦ θεοῦ. 94. ᾧ μάντι καὶ σοφὲ καὶ προειδὼς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ἐσόμενα, οὐκ ἐμαντεύσω τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸν φόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκτεινας αὐτοχειρὶ τὸν φίλον.

Κάγὼ τὸ Φοῖβον θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα

ἠλπιζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνη.

(ὡς ψευδόμαντιν κακίζει τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὁ Αἰσχύλος)

Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ὑμνῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν Σοίνῃ παρών,

Αὐτὸς τάδ' εἰπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κτανὼν,

Τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.

XXII. 95. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως πλάνη ποιητικὴ, φυσικὸς δέ τις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοιοῦτος λόγος·

Ζεὺς ἀργῆς (ὥς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος
 ἦδ' Αἰδωνεύς

Νῆστις δ', ἥ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

96. Εἰ τοίνυν Ζεὺς μὲν τὸ πῦρ, Ἥρα δὲ ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ Αἰδωνεύς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ Νῆστις, στοιχεῖα δὲ ταῦτα, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ἀήρ, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν θεός, οὔτε Ζεὺς οὔτε Ἥρα οὔτε Αἰδωνεύς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ὕλης διακριθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τούτων σύστασις τε καὶ γένεσις·

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἡέρος ἥπιον ὕψος,
Καὶ φιλίῃ μετὰ τοῖσιν.

97. Ἄ χωρὶς τῆς φιλίας οὐ δύναται μένειν, ὑπὸ τοῦ νεί-
κους συγγεόμενα, πῶς ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις ταῦτα εἶναι Θεούς ;
Ἀρχικὸν ἢ φιλία κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, ἀρχόμενα τὰ συγ-
κρίματα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχικὸν κύριον· ὥστε, ἐὰν μίαν καὶ τὴν
αὐτὴν τοῦ τε ἀρχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος δύναμιν θῶμεν,
λήσομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἰσοτίμον τὴν ὕλην τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ ρεν-
στήν καὶ μεταβλητὴν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ αἰδίῳ καὶ διαπαντὸς
συμφώνῳ ποιοῦντες Θεῷ. 98. Ζεὺς ἢ ζέουσα οὐσία κατὰ
τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς, Ἥρα ὁ αἴηρ, καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος εἰ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ
ἐπισυνάπτοιο συνεκφωνουμένου, Ποσειδῶν ἢ πόσις. Ἄλ-
λοι δὲ ἄλλως φυσιολογοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀέρα διφυῆ ἀρ-
σενόθην λυν τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ καιρὸν εἰς εὐκρασίαν
τρέποντα τὸν χρόνον, διὸ καὶ μόνος Κρόνον διέφυγεν.
Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· εἰ ἓνα τὸν
ἀνωτάτῳ Θεὸν ἀγενήτῳ τε καὶ αἰδίῳ νομίζετε, συγκρί-
ματα δὲ ἴσα ἢ τῆς ὕλης ἀλλαγὴ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ
διὰ τῆς ὕλης κευρωρκὸς κατὰ τὰς παραλλάξεις αὐτῆς
ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὄνομα μεταλαγχάνειν φατέ, σῶμα μὲν τὰ
εἶδη τῆς ὕλης τοῦ Θεοῦ γενήσεται, φθειρομένων δὲ τῶν
στοιχείων κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἀνάγκη συμφθαρῆναι ὁμοῦ
τοῖς εἶδεσι τὰ ὀνόματα, μόνου μένοντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
Θεοῦ. 99. Ὡν οὖν σωμάτων φθαρτὴ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην
παραλλαγὴ, τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσαι Θεούς ; Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
λέγοντας τὸν μὲν Κρόνον χρόνον, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν γῆν, τὴν
μὲν συλλαμβάνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ ἀποτίκτουσαν,
ἐνθεν καὶ μήτηρ νομίζεται πάντων, τὸν δὲ γεννῶντα καὶ
καταναλίσκοντα, καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν τομὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ὀμιλίαν τοῦ ἄρσενος πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, τέμνουσαν καὶ κατα-
βάλλουσαν σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν καὶ γεννῶσαν ἄνθρωπον,
ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὅ ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτη, ἔχοντα, τὴν δὲ

μανίαν τοῦ Κρόνου τροπὴν καιροῦ φθείρουσαν ἔμψυχα καὶ ἄψυχα, τὰ δὲ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸν τάρταρον χρόνον ὑπὸ καιρῶν τρεπόμενον καὶ ἀφανῇ γινόμενον, πρὸς τοίνυν τούτους φαμέν· εἴτε χρόνος ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, μεταβάλλει, εἴτε καιρός, τρέπεται, εἴτε σκότος ἢ πάγος ἢ οὐσία ὑγρά, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν μένει· τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· οὔτε ἄρα ὁ Κρόνος οὔτε τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶδωλον θεός. 100. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὲν ἀήρ ἐστι γεγονώς ἐκ Κρόνου, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἄρσεν ὁ Ζεύς, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ "Ἡρα (διὸ καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή), ἀλλοιοῦνται, εἰ δὲ καιρός, τρέπεται· οὔτε δὲ μεταβάλλει οὔτε μεταπίπτει τὸ θεῖον. 101. Τί δαί πλεον λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμῖν, οἳ ἄμεινον τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεφυσιολογηκότων οἶδατε, ἢ οἷα περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐνόησαν οἱ συγγραψάμενοι, ἢ ἃ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἦν φρόνησιν διὰ πάντων διήκουσάν φασιν, ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἦν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἔφυσαν καὶ δι' ἧς πάντες εἰσὶ, λέγουσιν, ἢ περὶ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὗ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μετ' Ὁρου τοῦ υἱοῦ ἢ Ἰσις ζητοῦσα τὰ μέλη καὶ εὐροῦσα ἤσκησεν εἰς ταφὴν, ἢ ταφὴ ἕως νῦν Ὀσιριάκῃ καλεῖται; 102. Ἄνω γὰρ καὶ κάτω περὶ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης στρεφόμενοι ἀποπίπτουσι τῇ λόγῳ θεωρητοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ μύρια αὐτῶν θεοποιοῦσιν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς τιθέμενοι, τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σποράν Ὀσirin (ὅθεν φασὶ μυστικῶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνευρέσει τῶν μελῶν ἢ τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιλεχθῆναι τῇ Ἰσιδι· Εὐρύηκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν!), τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ Σεμέλην αὐτὴν τὴν ἀμπελον, καὶ κεραυνὸν τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα. 103. Καίτοι γε πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ θεολογοῦσιν οἱ τοὺς μύθους θεοποιούντες, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἷς ἀπολογοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγους βεβαιοῦσι. Τί ἢ Εὐρώπη καὶ ὁ Ταῦρος καὶ ὁ Κύκνος καὶ ἡ Λήδα πρὸς γῆν καὶ ἀέρα, ἢ ἡ πρὸς ταύτας μιὰρὰ τοῦ Διὸς μῖξις ἢ γῆς

καὶ αἶρος; 104. Ἀλλ' ἀποπίπτοντες τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὑπερκύψαι τῇ λόγῳ (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι συμπάθειαν εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον) οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης συντετήκασιν, καὶ καταπίπτοντες τὰς τῶν στοιχείων τροπὰς θεοποιοῦσιν· ὅμοιον εἰ καὶ ναῦν τις, ἐν ᾗ ἔπλευσεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἄγοι. 105. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν πλέον νεώς, κἂν ἢ πᾶσιν ἡσκημένη, μὴ ἐχούσης τὸν κυβερνήτην, οὐδὲ τῶν στοιχείων ὄφελος διακεκοσμημένων δίχα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας. Ἡ τε γὰρ ναὺς καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐ πλευνεῖται, τὰ τε στοιχεῖα χωρὶς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ οὐ κινήσεται.

XXIII. 106. Εἴποιτε ἂν οὖν συνέσει πάντας ὑπερέχοντες· Τίνι οὖν τῇ λόγῳ ἓνα τῶν εἰδώλων ἐνεργεῖ, εἰ μὴ εἰσι θεοὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἰδρυνόμεθα τὰ ἀγάλματα; Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰς ἀψύχους καὶ ἀκινήτους εἰκόνας καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἰσχύειν χωρὶς τοῦ κινουντος. Τὸ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τóπους καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔξῃ γίνεσθαι τινὰς ἐπ' ὀνόματι εἰδώλων ἐνεργείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἀντιλέγομεν· οὐ μὴν, εἰ ὠφελήθησάν τινες καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλυπήθησαν ἕτεροι, θεοὺς νομιοῦμεν τοὺς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἐνεργήσαντας. 107. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧ λόγῳ νομίζετε ἰσχύειν τὰ εἶδωλα, καὶ τινὲς οἱ ἐνεργοῦντες, ἐπιβατεύοντες αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐξητάκαμεν. Ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι, μέλλοντι δεικνύειν τινὲς οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐνεργοῦντες καὶ ὅτι μὴ θεοί, προσχρήσασθαι τισι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας μάρτυσι. 108. Πρῶτος Θαλῆς διαιρεῖ, ὥς οἱ τὰ ἐκείνου ἀκριβοῦντες μνημονεύουσιν, εἰς θεόν, εἰς δαίμονα, εἰς ἥρωα. Ἀλλὰ θεὸν μὲν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ἄγει, δαίμονας δὲ οὐσίας νοεῖ ψυχικὰς, καὶ ἥρωας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθὰς, κακοὺς δὲ τὰς φαύλας. 109. Πλάτων δέ, τὰ ἅλλα ἐπέχων, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τε τὸν ἀγέννητον θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου εἰς κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γεγονότας, τοὺς τε πλάνητας καὶ τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας, καὶ εἰς δαίμονας τέμνει· περὶ ὧν

δαιμόνων αὐτὸς ἀπαξιῶν λέγειν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκόσιν προσέχειν ἄξιοι.

110. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν καὶ γινῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, πειστέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐγγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὓσιν ὥς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς γέ που τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προγόνους εἰδόντων· ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, κἄνπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὥς οἰκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῇ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. Οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἐχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω.

111. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὠκεανός τε καὶ Τηθύς ἐγεννήθησαν, τούτων δὲ Φόρκος Κρόνος τε καὶ Ῥέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου τε καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς Ἥρα τε καὶ πάντες, οὓς ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους.

112. Ἄρ' οὖν ὁ τὸν αἰδιδιον νοῦν καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβάνομενον περινοήσας θεὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπισυνμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἐξειπών, τὸ οὕτως ὄν, τὸ μονοφύες, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποχεόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, καὶ περὶ πρώτης δυνάμεως, καὶ ὥς περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκεν πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον πάντων, καὶ περὶ δύο καὶ τρία, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα, περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ λεγομένων γεγονέναι μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τάληδες μαθεῖν ἐνόμισεν; Ἥ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.

113. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον γεννᾶν καὶ ἀποκνίσκεσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν, ἐπομένων τοῖς γινομένοις τελῶν, καὶ, τὸ τούτου ἀδυνατώτερον, μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀβασανίστως τοὺς μύθους παραδεχομένους, διὰ ταῦτα μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔφη περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων γενέσεως, οὔτε μαθεῖν οὔτε ἐξειπεῖν γεννᾶσθαι θεοὺς δυνάμενος.

114. Καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον αὐτῷ· Ὁ δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν

ἄρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τῷ δὲ ἔπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων· οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Κρόνου λεγομένου ἔχει Διός. Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ὄνομα τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν ὄλων. 115. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων· ἐτέρῳ σημαντικῷ προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχων τῷ δημῳδῇ ὀνόματι, οὐχ ὥς ἰδίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλ' εἰς σαφήνειαν, ὅτι μὴ δυνατόν εἰς πάντας φέρειν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸν Θεόν, προσεχρήσατο, ἐπικατηγορήσας τὸ μέγας, ἵνα διαστείλῃ τὸν οὐράνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ χαμᾶθεν, τὸν ἀγέννητον ἀπὸ τοῦ γενητοῦ, τοῦ νεωτέρου μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, νεωτέρου δὲ Κρητῶν, οἱ ἐξέκλεψαν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς.

XXIV. 116. Τί δαὶ δεῖ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντα λόγον κεκινηκότας ἢ ποιητῶν μνημονεύειν ἢ καὶ ἐτέρας δόξας ἐξετάζειν, τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχοντι· Εἰ μὴ καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἕνα μὲν εἶναι ἐπεγίνωσκον Θεόν, περὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ὥς περὶ δαιμόνων, οἱ δὲ ὥς περὶ ὕλης, οἱ δὲ ὥς περὶ ἀνθρώπων γενομένων ἐφρόνουν, ἡμεῖς γε ἂν εἰκότως ἐξενηλατούμεθα, διαιρετικῷ λόγῳ καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ὕλης καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων αὐτῶν οὐσίας κεχρημένοι ; 117. Ὡς γὰρ Θεόν φαμεν καὶ υἷὸν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸν πατέρα τὸν υἷὸν τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅτι νοῦς λόγος σοφία ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπόρροια ὥς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ ἐτέρας εἶναι δυνάμεις κατελήμμεθα περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἀρχούσας καὶ δι' αὐτῆς, μίαν μὲν τὴν ἀντίθεον, 118. οὐχ ὅτι ἀντιδοξοῦν τί ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ, ὥς τῇ φιλίᾳ τὸ νεῖκος κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ νύξ κατὰ τὰ φαινόμενα (ἐπεὶ κἂν εἰ ἀνδριστήκει τι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπαύσατο τοῦ εἶναι, λυξείσης αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς συστάσεως), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθῷ, ὃ κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ συννύπάρχον, ὥς χροῖα σώματι, οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐχ ὥς μέρους

ὄντος, ἀλλ' ὡς κατ' ἀνάγκην συνόντος παρακολουθήματος, ἡνωμένου καὶ συγκεχρωσμένου, ὡς τῷ πυρὶ ξανθῷ εἶναι καὶ τῷ αἰθέρι κυανῷ), ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἔχον πνεῦμα, γενόμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼ οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν ἄγγελοι, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς τῆς ὕλης εἵδεσι πιστευσάμενον διοίκησιν. 119. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων σύστασις, τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακεκοσμημένοις, ἵνα τὴν μὲν παντελικὴν καὶ γενικὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἔχῃ τῶν ὅλων πρόνοιαν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταχθέντες ἄγγελοι. 120. Ὡς δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθαίρετον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἔχόντων (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐτ' ἐτιμάτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς οὐτ' ἐκολάζετε τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ ἡ κακία καὶ ἡ ἀρετή· καὶ οἱ μὲν σπουδαῖοι περὶ ἃ πιστεύονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι εὐρίσκονται), καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐν ὁμοίῳ κατέστηκεν. 121. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, ἀνθαίρετοι δὴ οἵοι γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔμειναν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν καὶ διέταξεν ὁ Θεός, οἱ δὲ ἐνύβρισαν καὶ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ὑποστάσει καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ, οὗτός τε ὁ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰδῶν ἄρχων καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν περὶ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦτο στερέωμα (ἴστε δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀμάρτυρον λέγειν, ἃ δὲ τοῖς προφῆταις ἐκπεφώνηται μηνύειν), ἐκείνοι μὲν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πεσόντες παρθένων καὶ ἡττους σαρκὸς εὐρέθοντες, οὗτος δὲ ἀμελήσας καὶ πονηρὸς περὶ τὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων γενόμενος διοίκησιν. 122. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῶν περὶ τὰς παρθένας ἔχόντων οἱ καλούμενοι ἐγεννήθησαν γίγαντες. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ μέρους εἴρηται περὶ τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ποιηταῖς λόγος, μὴ θαυμάσητε, τῆς κοσμικῆς σοφίας καὶ θεολογικῆς ὅσον ἀλήθεια πιθανοῦ διαφέρει διαλλαττουσῶν, καὶ τῆς μὲν οὔσης ἐπουρανίου, τῆς δὲ ἐπιγείου· καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ὕλης

Ἴσμεν φεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα.

XXV. 123. Οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, περὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν γῆν, οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια ὑπερκύβαι δυνάμενοι, καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες, ὁμοίας κινήσεις οἱ μὲν αἷς ἔλαβον συστάσῃσιν, οἱ δαίμονες, οἱ δὲ αἷς ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαις, οἱ ἄγγελοι, ποιούμενοι. 124. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ὕλης ἄρχων, ὡς ἔστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γινομένων ἰδεῖν, ἐναντία τῷ ἀγαθῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτροπεύει καὶ διοικεῖ.

Πολλάκι μοι πραπίδων διῆλθε φροντίς,
Εἴτε τύχα εἴτε δαίμων τὰ βιώτια κραίνει,
Παρά τ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ δίκαν
Τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' οἴκων ἀναπίπτοντας
Ἄτερ βίου, τοὺς δ' εὐτυχοῦντας ἄγει.

125. Τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ δίκην εὖ πράττειν ἢ κακῶς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐποίησε, τίνος ἢ τοιαύτη τῶν περιγείων διοίκησις, ἐν ᾗ εἴποι τις ἂν·

Πῶς οὖν τὰδ' εἰσορῶντες ἢ Θεῶν γένος
Εἶναι λέγωμεν, ἢ νόμοισι χρώμεθα;

126. Τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη ἀπρονόητα εἰπεῖν τὰ κατωτέρω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐποίησε, καίτοι τῆς αἰδίου ἐπ' ἴσης ἡμῖν μενούσης προνοίας τοῦ Θεοῦ·

Ἢ γῇ δ' ἀνάγκη, κἂν θέλῃ κἂν μὴ θέλῃ,
Φύουσα ποίαν τὰμὰ πιαίνει βοτά·

τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ μέρος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, οὐ πρὸς δόξαν, χωρούσης ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀξίους, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν συστάσεως νόμῳ λόγου προνοουμένων. 127. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦναντίου πνεύματος δαιμονικαὶ κινήσεις καὶ ἐνέργειαι τὰς ἀτάκτους ταύτας ἐπιφορὰς παρέχουσιν, ἥδη καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλον ἄλλως, καὶ κατ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ ἕξιν, μερικῶς καὶ κοινῶς, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὕλης λόγον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα συμπαθείας, ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν κινεῖν, διὰ

τοῦτό τινες, ὧν δύοξαι οὐ μικραί, ἐνόμισαν οὐ τάξει τινὶ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο συνεστάναι, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ τύχῃ ἄγεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου σύστασιν οὐδὲν ἄτακτον οὐδὲ ἀπημελημένον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γεγονὸς λόγῳ, διὸ οὐδὲ τὴν ὠρισμένην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσι τάξιν, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὸν πεποιηκότα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτάκτως ἔχει, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν φύσει, ἓνα καὶ κοινὸν ἐπεχούσῃ λόγον, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν διαδέσει, οὐ παραβαινούσῃ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμον, καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου τέλει, ἴσῳ καὶ κοινῷ μένουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἑαυτῇ λόγον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐπέχοντος ἄρχοντος καὶ τῶν παρακολουθούντων δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαν ἄλλος ἄλλως φέρεται καὶ κινεῖται, κοινὸν πάντες τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες λογισμόν.

XXVI. 128. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ εἶδωλα αὐτοὺς ἔλκοντες οἱ δαίμονές εἰσιν οἱ προειρημένοι, οἱ προστετηκότες τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἵματι καὶ ταῦτα περιλιχμώμενοι· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκοντες θεοὶ καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἐπονομαζόμενοι, ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἱστορίας εἰδέναι, ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν. 129. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν δαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς ἐπιβατεύοντας τοῖς ὀνόμασι πίστις ἢ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργεια. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτέμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ῥέαν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκόπτουσιν ἢ ἐντέμνουσιν, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν Ταύροις φονεύει τοὺς ξένους· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς ταῖς μαχαίραις καὶ τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις αἰκίζομένους αὐτοὺς λέγειν καὶ ὅσα εἶδη δαιμόνων· οὐ γὰρ θεοῦ κινεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν.

· "Οταν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακά,

Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον.

130. Ὁ δὲ θεός, τελείως ἀγαθὸς ὢν, αἰδίως ἀγαθοποιός ἐστιν. Τοῦ τοίνυν ἄλλους μὲν εἶναι τοὺς ἐνεργούντας, ἐφ' ἐτέρων δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τὰς εἰκόνας, ἐκείνο μέγιστον τεκμή-

ριον, Τρωὰς καὶ Πάριον· ἡ μὲν Νερυλλίνου εἰκόνας ἔχει, ὃς ἀνὴρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, τὸ δὲ Πάριον· Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Πρωτέως· τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὁ τάφος καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἀνδριάντες τοῦ Νερυλλίνου κόσμημά εἰσι δημόσιον, εἶπερ καὶ τούτοις κοσμεῖται πόλις, εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν καὶ ἰᾶσθαι νοσοῦντας νομίζεται, καὶ θύουσί τε δι' αὐτὰ καὶ χρυσῷ περιλαίφουσι καὶ στεφανοῦσι τὸν ἀνδριάντα οἱ Τρωαεῖς. 131. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πρωτέως (τοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ῥίψαντα ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν), ὁ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται χρηματίζειν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

[Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές]

δημοτελεῖς ἄγονται θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ ὡς ἐπηκόῳ θεῷ. Πότερον οὖν ὁ Νερυλλίνος καὶ ὁ Πρωτεύς καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρός εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ἐνεργοῦντες περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ τῆς ὕλης ἢ σύστασις; Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὕλη χαλκός ἐστιν. Τί δαὶ χαλκὸς δύναται καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὃν μεταποιῆσαι πάλιν εἰς ἕτερον σχῆμα ἔξεστιν, ὡς τὸν ποδονιπτῆρα ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ Ἀμασις; 132. Ὁ δὲ Νερυλλίνος καὶ ὁ Πρωτεύς καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τί πλεον τοῖς νοσοῦσιν; Ἄ γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν λέγεται νῦν ἐνεργεῖν, ἐνήργει καὶ ζῶντος καὶ νοσοῦντος Νερυλλίνου.

XXVII. 133. Τί οὖν; Πρῶτα μὲν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογοι καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις περὶ τὰς δόξας κινήσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλα εἰδῶλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἔλκουσι, τὰ δὲ αὐταῖς ἀναπλάττουσι καὶ κυοῦσι· πάσχει δὲ τοῦτο ψυχὴ μάλιστα τοῦ ὕλικου προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ἐπισυγκραθεῖσα πνεύματος, οὐ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν τούτων ποιητὴν ἀλλὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια βλέψουσα, καθολικῶς εἰς γῆν, ὡς μόνον αἷμα καὶ σάρξ, οὐκέτι πνεῦμα καθαρὸν γινομένη. Αἱ οὖν ἄλογοι αὗται καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις εἰδω-

λομανεῖς ἀποτίκτουσι φαντασίας. · 134. "Οταν δὲ ἀπαλὴ καὶ εὐάγωγος ψυχὴ, ἀνήκοος μὲν καὶ ἄπειρος λόγων ἐρ-
 ρωμένων, ἀδεώρητος δὲ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἀπερινόητος δὲ τοῦ
 πατρὸς καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων, ἐναποσφραγίσηται ψευδεῖς
 περὶ αὐτῆς δόξας, οἱ περὶ τὴν ὕλην δαίμονες, λίχνοι περὶ
 τὰς κνίσσας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἷμα ὄντες, ἀπατήλοὶ δὲ
 ἀνθρώπων, προσλαβόντες τὰς ψευδοδόξους ταύτας τῶν
 πολλῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις, φαντασίας αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀπὸ
 τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ἐπιβατεύοντες αὐτῶν τοῖς
 νοήμασιν, εἰσρεῖν παρέχουσι · καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἑαυτήν, ὡς
 ἀθάνατος οὖσα, λογικῶς κινεῖται ψυχὴ, ἢ προμηνύουσα τὰ
 μέλλοντα ἢ θεραπεύουσα τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, τούτων τὴν δόξαν
 καρποῦνται οἱ δαίμονες.

XXVIII. 135. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἴσως, κατὰ τὰ προειρη-
 μένα, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὀλίγα εἰπεῖν. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν
 οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν μη-
 τέρα ἐπιστολῇ (ἐκάτεροι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ ἐν Μέμφι
 καὶ Θήβαις εἰς λόγους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφίχθαι λέγονται)
 φασὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι μαθεῖν.
 136. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν · "Ἦδη ὦν, τῶν αἰ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιού-
 τους ἀπεδείκνυσάν σφας αὐτοὺς ἔοντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν
 ἀπηλλαγμένους. Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
 θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἔοντας ἅμα
 τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰ εἶνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι ·
 ὕστερον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὀρον τὸν Ὀσίρειος παῖδα,
 τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσι · τοῦτον, καταπαύ-
 σαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὅσιρις
 δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. 137. Οἳ τε οὖν
 ἄλλοι καὶ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου. Παρὰ δὲ τούτων
 εἰς Ἕλληνας ἦλθε τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν. Ἀπόλλων ὁ
 Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιδος, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος λέγει · Ἀπόλ-
 λωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιδος λέγουσιν εἶναι

παῖδας, Λητῷ δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτηρίαν γενέσθαι. Οὓς οὐρανόθεν γεγονότας πρώτους βασιλείας ἔσχον· πῇ μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, πῇ δὲ χάριτι τῆς ἀρχῆς θεοῦ ὁμοῦ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἦγον.

138. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βούς τοὺς ἄρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλείας οὐ σφιν ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱερεῖς εἰσι τῆς Ἰσιδος, τῆς ἀγαλματὸν γυναικίῳ βούκερὼν ἔστιν, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι.

139. Τίνες δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ταῦτα πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἢ οἱ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους, παῖς παρὰ πατρός, ὡς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διαδεχόμενοι; Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σεμνοποιούντας ζακόρους τὰ εἶδωλα εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ψεύδεσθαι.

140. Εἴ τι μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἱστορεῖν Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ λέγοντι τῷ Ἡροδότῳ· Τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀφηγημάτων, οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος διηγεῖσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν μούνα ἐλάχιστα· μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς μυθοποιῶ ἔδει.

141. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὁ Τρισμέγιστος ἐπικαλούμενος συνῆπτον τὸ αἶδιον αὐτοῖς γένος, καὶ ἄλλοι μυρίοι, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον καταλέγοιμι, οὐδὲ λόγος ἔτι καταλείπεται, βασιλεῖς ὄντας αὐτοὺς μὴ νενομίσθαι θεούς. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωποι, δηλοῦσι μὲν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογιώτατοι, οἷ, θεοὺς λέγοντες αἰθέρα γῆν ἥλιον σελήνην, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους θνητοὺς νομίζουσι καὶ ἱερὰ τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν.

142. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτῶν φησι μυστήρια· Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ἑορτὴν εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι. Τύπτονται γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται τρόπον, οὗ μοι ὁσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. Εἰ θεοί, καὶ ἀθάνατοι, εἰ δὲ τύπονται καὶ τὰ πάσῃ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν μυστήρια, ἄνθρωποι, ὡς

αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος. 143. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐχ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὐνομα ἐν Σαῖ, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθεν τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. Λίμνη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη, λιθίνῃ κρηπίδι κεκοσμημένη ἐν κύκλῳ, μέγεθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅση περ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δέικηλα τῶν παθόντων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. 144. Καὶ οὐ μόνον ὁ τάφος τοῦ Ὀσίριδος δείκνυται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταριχεία. Ἐπεὰν σφισι κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα· καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ οὐχ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν.

XXIX. 145. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων οἱ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ ἱστορίαν σοφοὶ περὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέους·

Σχίτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν ἠδέσασ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν,

Τὴν ἣν οἱ παρέθηκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν.

Τοιοῦτος ὦν εἰκότως μὲν ἐμαίνετο, εἰκότως δὲ ἀνάψας πυρὰν κατέκαυσεν ἑαυτόν. 146. Περὶ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ἡσίοδος μὲν·

Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε

Χώσατ', ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ βαλὼν πολέεσσι κεραυνῷ

Ἐκτανε Λητοῖδην φίλον, σὺν θυμὸν ὀρίνων.

Πίνδαρος δέ·

Ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται.

Ἐγραπτε ἀκακῆινον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶ φανείς.

Χερσὶ δ' ἄρα Κρονίων ῥίψας δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρωνων καθεῖλεν

Ὡκέως, αἶθρων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκηψε μόρον.

147. Ἡ τοίνυν θεοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ πρὸς χρυσὸν εἶχον

(ὦ χρυσεῖ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ὦς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοιάσδ' ἔχει,
Οὐ παῖδες.

Ἀνεπιδεῖς γὰρ καὶ κρεῖττον ἐπιθυμίας τὸ θεῖον.) οὔτε ἀπέθνησκον· ἢ ἄνθρωποι γεγονότες καὶ πονηροὶ δι' ἁμαρτίαν ἦσαν καὶ χρημάτων ἐλάττους. 148. Τί δεῖ με πολλὰ λέγειν, ἢ Κάστορος ἢ Πολυδεύκους μνημονεύοντα ἢ Ἀμφιάρεω, οἱ, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ, χθῆς καὶ πρώην ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεγονότες, θεοὶ νομίζονται, ὅποτε καὶ Ἰνὼ μετὰ τὴν μανίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς μανίας πάσῃ θεὸν δοξάζουσι γεγονέναι,

Πόντου πλάνητες Λευκοθέαν ἐπώνυμον,
καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς;

Σεμνὸς Παλαίμων ναυτίλοις κεκλήσεται.

XXX. 149. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὥς ἀπόπτυστοι καὶ θεοστυγεῖς δόξαν ἔσχον εἶναι θεοί, καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς Δερκετοῦς Σεμίραμις, λάγνος γυνὴ καὶ μαιφόνος, ἔδοξε Συρία θεός, καὶ διὰ τὴν Δερκετὸν καὶ τὰς περιστεράς καὶ τὴν Σεμίραμιν σέβουσι Σύροι (τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον, εἰς περιστερὰν μετέβαλεν ἡ γυνή· ὁ μῦθος παρὰ Κτησίᾳ), τί θαυμαστὸν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ τυραννίδι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι θεούς· Σίβυλλα (μέμνηται δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Πλάτων).

150. Καὶ τότε δὴ δεκάτῃ γενεῇ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,

Ἐξ οὗ δὴ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ προτέρους γένετ' ἄνδρας.

Καὶ βασιλευσε Κρόνος καὶ Τιτὰν Ἰαπετός τε,

Γαίης τέκνα φέριστα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ οὐς ἐκάλεσαν

Ἄνθρωποι, Γαῖαν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν οὖνομα θέντες,

Οὐνεκα οἱ πρώτιστοι ἔσαν μερόπων ἀνθρώπων·

τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἰσχύϊ, ὥς Ἡρακλῆα καὶ Περσέα, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τέχνῃ, ὥς Ἀσκληπιόν; 151. Οἷς μὲν οὖν ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι τιμῆς μετεδίδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ μετέχον τοῦ ὀνόματος. Καὶ Ἀντί-

νους φιλανθρωπία τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἔτυχε νομίζεσθαι θεός. Οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀβασανίστως παρεδέξαντο.

152. Κρῆτες αἰὲ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὧ ἄνα, σείο

Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες.

Πιστεύων Καλλίμαχε ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ, καὶ νομίζων ἐπισκιάσειν τὰληθῆς καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κηρύσσεις τὸν τεθνηκότα· κἂν μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπῃς, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομιμνήσκῃ τόκον, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδῃς, ἐπισκοτεῖς τῇ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος αἰδῖος ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός. Ἡ γὰρ ἄπιστοι οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποιητῶν λεγόμενοι μῦθοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ περισσὴ ἢ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐσέβεια (οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν ὧν ψευδεῖς οἱ λόγοι), ἢ εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ γενέσεις, οἱ ἔρωτες, αἱ μαιφονίαι, αἱ κλοπαί, αἱ ἔκτομαί, οἱ κεραυνοί, οὐκέτ' εἰσὶ, παυσάμενοι εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγένοντο οὐκ ὄντες. 153. Τίς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πιστεύειν λόγος, τοῖς δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιητῶν ἱστορηκότων; Οὐ γὰρ ἂν δι' οὗς ἐνομίσθησαν θεοί, σεμνοποιήσαντας τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἱστορίαν, οὗτοι τὰ πάθῃ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐψεύσαντο. Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, θεὸν ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγον, κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀξίαν, ἐλήλεγκται.

XXXI. 154. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τροφὰς καὶ μίξεις λογοποιούσιν ἀθέους καθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τε μισεῖν νομίζοιεν μετὰ λόγου καὶ οἰόμενοι τῇ δεδίττεσθαι ἢ τῆς ἐνστάσεως ἀπάξιν ἡμᾶς τοῦ βίου ἢ πικροὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τῇ τῶν αἰτιῶν ὑπερβολῇ τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρασκευάσειν, πρὸς εἰδότας παίζοντες ὅτι ἄνωθεν πως ἔθος, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν μόνον, κατὰ τινα θεῖον νόμον καὶ λόγον παρηκολούθηκε, προσπολεμῆν τὴν κακίαν τῇ ἀρετῇ. 155. Οὕτω καὶ Πυθαγόρας μὲν ἅμα τριακοσίοις ἐτέροις κατεφλέχθη πυρί, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ καὶ

Δημόκριτος, ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἡλαύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν, ἐπικατηγορούμενος μεμνηνέαι, καὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. Ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν χείρους εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν, οὐδ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ πρὸς ὁρθότητα βίου ἢ παρὰ τινων ἄκριτος βλασφημία· εὐδοξοῦμεν γὰρ παρὰ τῇ Θεῷ. 156. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπαντήσω τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Ὑμῖν μὲν οὖν καὶ δι' ὧν εἴρηκα εὖ οἶδα ἀπολελογησθαι ἐμαντόν. Συνέσει γὰρ πάντας ὑπερφρονοῦντες, οἷς ὁ βίος ὥς πρὸς στάθμην τὸν Θεὸν κανονίζεται, ὅπως ἀνυπαίτιος καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος αὐτῇ γένοιτο, ἵστε τούτους μὴδ' εἰς ἔννοιάν ποτε τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἐλευσομένους ἁμαρτήματος. 157. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον βιώσεσθαι πεπείσμεθα, κἂν ὑποπτεύειν ἐνῆν δουλεύοντας σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ἢ κέρδους ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάττους γενομένους ἁμαρτεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφεισθηκέναι μὲν οἷς ἐννοοῦμεν, οἷς λαλοῦμεν, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν Θεὸν οἶδαμεν, πάντα δὲ φῶς αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν ὄραν, πεπείσμεθα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαλλαγέντες βίου βίον ἕτερον βιώσεσθαι, ἀμείνονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπουράνιον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον (ὥς ἂν μετὰ Θεοῦ καὶ σὺν Θεῷ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὥς σάρκες, κἂν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὥς οὐράνιον πνεῦμα, μενοῦμεν), ἢ συγκαταπίπτουντες τοῖς λοιποῖς χείρονα καὶ διὰ πυρός· οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὥς πρόβατα ἢ ὑποζύγια, πάρεργον καὶ ἵνα ἀπολοίμεθα καὶ ἀφανισθῇμεν, ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεός. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξελοκακεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς τῇ μεγάλῃ παραδίδόναι κολασθησομένους δικαστῇ.

XXXII. 158. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν λογοποιεῖν περὶ ἡμῶν ἢ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων λέγουσι Θεῶν· καὶ τὰ πάθη αὐτῶν δεικνύουσι μυστήρια. Χρῆν δ' αὐτούς, εἰ δεινὸν τὸ ἐπ' ἀδείας καὶ ἀδιαφόρως μίγνυσθαι κρίνειν ἔμελ-

λον, ἢ τὸν Δία μεμισκέναι, ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ῥέας θυγατρὸς δὲ Κόρης πεπαιδοποιημένον, γυναικὶ δ' ἰδίᾳ ἀδελφῇ χρώμενον, ἢ τὸν τούτων ποιητὴν Ὀρφέα, ὅτι καὶ ἀνόσιον ὑπὲρ τὸν Θυέστην καὶ μιὰρὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Δία· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τῇ θυγατρὶ κατὰ χρῆσμον ἐμίγη, βασιλεῦσαι θέλων καὶ ἐκδικηθῆναι. 159. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτόν ἀδιάφοροι εἶναι ἀπέχομεν, ὥς μηδὲ ἰδ. τιν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξεῖναι. Ὁ γὰρ βλέπων, φησί, γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἤδη μεμοίχευκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Οἷς οὖν μηδὲν τὸ πλέον ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν ἢ ἐφ' ᾧ ἔπλασεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ θεός, ἡμῖν φῶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οἷς τὸ ἰδεῖν ἡδέως μοιχεία, ἐφ' ἑτέρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν γεγονότων, μέχρις ἐννοίας κριθησομένοις, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀπιστηθεῖεν σωφρονεῖν; Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνθρωπικοὺς νόμους ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν, οὐς ἂν τις γενόμενος πονηρὸς καὶ λάθροι (ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ ὑμῖν, δεσπύται, θεοδίδακτον εἶναι τὸν κατ' ἡμᾶς λόγον ἐπιστούμην), ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν νόμος ὃς δικαιοσύνης μέτρον ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πέλας ἔχειν. 160. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατ' ἡλικίαν τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας νοοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχομεν καὶ ἀδελφάς, καὶ τοῖς προβεβηκόσι τὴν τῶν πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τιμὴν ἀπονέμεμεν. Οὗς οὖν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ γένους νοοῦμεν ὀνόματα, περὶ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν ἀνύβριστα καὶ ἀδιάφορα αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα μένειν, πάλιν ἡμῖν λέγοντος τοῦ λόγου· Ἐάν τις διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ δευτέρου καταφιλήσῃ, ὅτι ἤρесе αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐπιφέροντος· Οὕτως οὖν ἀκριβώσασθαι τὸ φίλημα μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα δεῖ, ὥς, εἴπου μικρὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παραβολωθεῖν, ἔξω ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου τιθέμενης ζωῆς.

XXXIII. 161. Ἐλπίδα οὖν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχοντες, τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφρονοῦμεν, μέχρι καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδέων· γυναῖκα μὲν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἦν ἡγάγετο κατὰ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν τεθειμένους νόμους νομίζων, καὶ ταύτην

μέχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς καταβάλλων εἰς γῆν τὰ σπέρματα ἄμητον περιμένει, οὐκ ἐπισπείρων, καὶ ἡμῖν μέτρον ἐπιθυμίας ἡ παιδοποιΐα. Εὐροῖς δ' ἂν πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, καταγηράσκοντας ἀγάμους ἐλπίδι τοῦ μᾶλλον συνέσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ. 162. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐνουχίᾳ μέναι μᾶλλον παρίστησι τῷ Θεῷ, τὸ δὲ μέχρις ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλθεῖν ἀπάγει, ὣν τὰς ἐννοίας φεύγομεν, πολὺ πρότερον τὰ ἔργα παραιτούμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ μελέτη λόγων ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ ἔργων τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἧ οἷός τις ἐτέχθη μένειν ἢ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γάμῳ· ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία. Ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ, φησί, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾷται, οὔτε ἀπολύειν ἐπιτρέπων ἧς ἔπαυσέ τις τὴν παρθενίαν οὔτε ἐπιγαμεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ ἀποστερῶν ἑαυτὸν τῆς προτέρας γυναικός, καὶ εἰ τέθνηκε, μοιχός ἐστι παρακεκαλυμμένος, παραβαίνων μὲν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Θεὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα ἔπλασε καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα, λύων δὲ τὴν σαρκὸς πρὸς σάρκα κατὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν πρόσμιξιν εἰς τοῦ γένους κοινωνίαν.

XXXIV. 163. Ἄλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι (ὧ τί ἂν εἶποιμι τὰ ἀπόρρητα;) ἀκούομεν τὰ τῆς πυρομίας Ἡ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα. Οἱ γὰρ ἀγορὰν στήσαντες πορνείας καὶ καταγωγὰς ἀθέσμους πεποιημένοι τοῖς νέοις πάσης αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀρσένων φειδόμενοι, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὰ δεινὰ κατεργαζόμενοι, ὅσων σεμνότερα καὶ εὐειδέστερα σώματα παντοίως αὐτὰ ὑβρίζοντες, ἀτιμοῦντες καὶ τὸ ποιητὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καλόν (οὐ γὰρ αὐτοποίητον ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χειρὸς καὶ γνώμης πεμπόμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ), οὗτοι δὲ ἅ συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους λέγουσι Θεούς, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ τῶν Θεῶν αὐτὰ αὐχοῦντες, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς λοιδороῦνται, κακίζοντες οἱ μοιχοὶ καὶ παιδερασταὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ μονογάμους, οἱ δίκην

ἰχθύων ζῶντες· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατάπινουσί τὸν ἐμπεσόντα, ἐλαύνοντες ὁ ἰσχυρότερος τὸν ἀσθενέστερον. 164. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι σαρκῶν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρωπικῶν, τὸ κειμένων νόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι πρὸς πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην ἐξετάσαντες ἐδήκατε, παρὰ τούτους αὐτοὺς βιάζεσθαι, ὥς μηδὲ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν καταπεμπομένους ἡγεμόνας τῶν θινῶν ἐξαρκεῖν ταῖς δίκαις, οἷς οὐδὲ παιομένοις μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲ κακῶς ἀκούουσι μὴ εὐλογεῖν ἔξεστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι (ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἴσα ἴσοις ἀμείβειν), ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνεξικάκοις εἶναι πρόκειται.

XXXV. 165. Τίς οὖν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι τοιούτους ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀνδροφόνους εἶναι; Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πάσασθαι κρεῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν μὴ πρότερον ἀποκτείνασί τινα. Τὸ πρότερον οὖν ψευδόμενοι, τὸ δεύτερον κἂν μὲν τις αὐτοὺς ἔρηται εἰ ἐωράκασιν· ἃ λέγουσιν, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπηνυθριασμένος ὥς εἰπεῖν ἰδεῖν. Καίτοι καὶ δοῦλοί εἰσιν ἡμῖν, τοῖς μὲν καὶ πλείους τοῖς δὲ ἐλάττους, οὓς οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς κατ' ἡμῶν τὰ τηλικαῦτα οὐδὲ κατεφύεσατο. Οὓς γὰρ ἴσασιν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν κἂν δικαίως φονευόμενον ὑπομένοντας, τούτων τίς ἂν κατεῖποι ἢ ἀνδροφονίαν ἢ ἀνθρωποβορίαν; 166. Τίς οὐχὶ τῶν περὶ σπουδῆς τὰς δι' ὀπλων ἀγωνίας καὶ διὰ θηρίων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀγομένας, ἔχει; Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, πλησίον εἶναι τὸ ἰδεῖν τὸν φονευόμενον τοῦ ἀποκτείνει νομίζοντες, ἀπηγορεύσαμεν τὰς τοιαύτας θείας. Πῶς οὖν μηδὲ ὀρώντες, ἵνα μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἄγος καὶ μίasma προστριφαίμεθα, φονεύειν δυνάμεθα; 167. Καὶ οἱ τὰς τοῖς ἀμβλωθριδίαις χρωμένας ἀνδροφονεῖν τε καὶ λόγον ὑφέξειν τῆς ἐξαμβλώσεως τῇ θεῇ φαμεν, κατὰ ποῖον ἀνδροφονοῦμεν λόγον; Οὐ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομίζειν μὲν καὶ τὸ κατὰ γαστρὸς ζῶον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μέλειν τῇ θεῇ, καὶ παρεληλυθότα εἰς τὸν βίον φο-

ζῆναι, καὶ μὴ ἐκτιθέναι μὲν τὸ γεννηθέν, ὡς τῶν ἐκτιθέντων τεκνοκτονούντων, πάλιν δὲ τὸ τραφέν ἀναιρεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν πάντα πανταχοῦ ὅμοιοι καὶ ἴσοι, δουλεύοντες τῇ λόγῳ καὶ οὐκ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ.

XXXVI. 168. Τίς ἂν οὖν ἀνάστασιν πεπιστευκῶς ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἀναστησομένοις ἑαυτὸν παράσχοι τάφον; Οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναστήσεσθαι ἡμῶν πεπεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ ἐσθίειν αὐτὰ ὡς οὐκ ἀναστησόμενα, καὶ ἀποδώσειν μὲν νομίζειν τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἰδίους νεκρούς, οὓς δὲ τις αὐτὸς ἐγκατέθαψεν αὐτῷ μήτε ἀπαιτηθήσεσθαι. 169. Τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς τοὺς μὲν μήτε λόγον ὑφέξειν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἢ πονηροῦ ἢ χρηστοῦ βίου μήτε ἀνάστασιν εἶναι οἰομένους, συναπολλύσθαι δὲ τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ οἷον ἐναποσβέννυσθαι λογιζομένους, μηδενὸς ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι τολμήματος· τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, συγκολασθήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπουργῆσαν σώμα ταῖς ἀλόγοις ὀρμαῖς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις πεπεισμένους, οὐδεὶς λόγος ἔχει οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων τι ἁμαρτεῖν. 170. Εἰ δὲ τῷ λῆρος πολὺς δοκεῖ, τὸ σαπὲν καὶ διαλυθὲν καὶ ἀφανισθὲν σῶμα συστήναι πάλιν, κακίας μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δόξαν ἀποφευρίμεθα διὰ τοὺς οὐ πιστεύοντας ἀλλ' εὐηθείας· οἷς γὰρ ἀπατῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς λόγοις· ἀδικοῦμεν οὐδένα. 171. Ὅτι μέντοι οὐ καθ' ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀναστήσεται τὰ σώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων, περὶέργον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δεικνύειν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγωνίους τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπεισάγειν δοκῶμεν λόγους, ἢ περὶ νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων συστάσεως λέγοντες, ἢ ὅτι πρεσβύτερα τὰ ἀσώματα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰ νοητὰ προάγει τῶν αἰσθητῶν, κἂν πρώτοις περιπίπτωμεν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, συνισταμένων ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀσωμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἐπισύνθεσιν τῶν νοητῶν σωμάτων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νοητῶν τῶν αἰσθητῶν· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν

Πλάτωνα, γενομένης τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σωμάτων, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν συνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτὰ καὶ πάλιν συστή-
ναι. Ἄλλ' ἀνακείσθω μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος.

XXXVII. 172. Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι φύσει καὶ παιδείᾳ χρηστοὶ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιοι, διαλελυμένῳ μὲν τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ἐπιδεδειχότι δὲ ὅτι καὶ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς κεκολασμένοι, τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπινεύσατε. 173. Τίνες γὰρ καὶ δικαιότεροι ὧν δέονται τυχεῖν, ἢ οἵτινες περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα ἵνα πᾶς μὲν παρὰ πατρός κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον διαδέχησθε τὴν βασιλείαν, αὐξην δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποχειρίων γινομένων, λαμβάνη; Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευσμένα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῖμεν.



ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ.

Ι. 1. Παντὶ δόγματι καὶ λόγῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀληθείας ἐχομένῳ παραφύεται τι ψεῦδος· παραφύεται δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένης τινὸς ἀρχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὁρμώμενον ἢ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ ὑπερ ἔστιν ἕκαστον αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἔκθεσμον σπορὰν ἐπὶ διαφορᾷ τῆς ἀληθείας τετιμηκότων σπουδαζόμενον. 2. Τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν εἰρεῖν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ταῖς περὶ τούτων φροντίσιν ἰσχυροκότων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ὁμοχρόνους γενομένης διαφορᾶς, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν ἐν μέσῳ στρεφόμενων ταραχῆς. 3. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀληθῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι κατέλιπον ἀσυκοφάντητον, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ τὴν γνῶσιν, οὐ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, οὐ τὰ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς καθ' εἰρμὸν ἐπόμενα καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐσειβείας ἡμῖν ὑπογράφοντα λόγον. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πάντα καὶ κατὰ-παξ ἀπογινώσκουσι τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀλήθειαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς διαστρέφουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀπορεῖν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. 4. Ὅθεν οἶμαι δεῖν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα πονοῦμένοις λόγων διττῶν, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας ἢ τοὺς ἀμφιβάλλοντας, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τοὺς εὐγνωμονοῦντας καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας δεχομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 5. Ὡν ἕνεκεν χρὴ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐξετάζειν ἐξέλοντας τὴν ἐκάστοτε προ-

κειμένην χρείαν σκοπεῖν καὶ ταύτη τοὺς λόγους μετρεῖν, τὴν τε περὶ τούτων τάξιν μεσαρμόζειν πρὸς τὰ δέον, καὶ μὴ τῇ δοκεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν πάντοτε φυλάττειν ἀρχὴν ἀμελεῖν τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης ἐκάστῃ χώρας. 6. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀπὸδειξιν καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, πάντοτε πρωτοστατοῦσιν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγοι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὸ χρειωδέστερον, ἀνεστραμμένως οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς. 7. Οὐτε γὰρ γεωργὸς δύναται ἂν προσηκόντως καταβάλλειν τῇ γῇ τὰ σπέρματα, μὴ προεξελὼν τὰ τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης καὶ τοῖς καταβαλλομένοις ἡμέροις σπέρμασι λυμαινόμενα, οὔτε ἱατρὸς ἐνεῖναι τι τῶν ὑγιεινῶν φαρμάκων τῇ δεομένῃ θεραπείας σώματι, μὴ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν κακίαν προκαθήρας ἢ τὴν ἐπιρρέουσαν ἐπισχών· οὔτε μὴν ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐθέλων διδάσκειν, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λέγων, πείσαι δύναται ἂν τινα ψευδοδοξίας τινὸς ὑποικουρούσης τῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων διανοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀντιστατούσης. 8. Διὸ πρὸς τὸ χρειωδέστερον ἀφορῶντες καὶ ἡμεῖς προτάσσομεν ἕξθ' ὅτε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγους τῶν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ποιῆσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγων οὐκ ἀχρεῖον φαίνεται σκοποῦσι τὸ δέον. 9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις εὐρίσκομεν τοὺς μὲν ἀπιστοῦντας πάντη, τινὰς δὲ ἀμφιβάλλοντας, καὶ τῶν γε τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις δεξαμένων τινὰς ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς ἀμφιβάλλουσιν ἀποροῦντας· τὸ ἐξ πάντων παραλογώτατον ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχουσιν, οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπιστίας ἀφορμὴν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν εὐρίσκοντες εἰπεῖν εὐλογον, δι' ἣν ἀπιστοῦσιν ἢ διαποροῦσιν.

II. 10. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως. Εἰ πᾶσα ἀπιστία μὴ προχείρως καὶ κατὰ τινα δόξαν ἄκριτον ἐγγινομένη τισίν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος αἰτίας ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσφαλείας· τότε γὰρ τὸν εἰκότα σώζει λόγον, ὅταν αὐτὸ

τὸ πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ ἀπιστοῦσιν ἄπιστον εἶναι δοκῇ· τὸ γάρ τοι τοῖς οὐκ οὔσιν ἀπίστοις ἀπιστεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσα κρίσει περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν χρωμένων. 11. Οὐκοῦν χρὴ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπιστοῦντας ἢ διαποροῦντας μὴ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀκρίτως καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν περὶ ταύτης ἐκφέρειν γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἡ μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσιν (ὃ δὴ καὶ λῖαν ἐστὶν εὐεξέλεγκτον), ἡ τῷ Θεῷ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνατιθέντας αἰτίαν εἰς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ δόγματος ἀποβλέπειν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ διὰ ταύτης δεικνύειν τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὐδαμῶθεν ἔχουσαν τὸ πιστόν. 12. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσουσιν, ἐὰν δεῖξαι δυνηθῶσιν ἡ ἀδύνατον ὃν τῷ Θεῷ ἡ ἀβούλητον τὰ νεκρωθέντα τῶν σωμάτων ἢ καὶ πάντη διαλυθέντα πάλιν ἐνῶσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστασιν. Ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δύνωνται, παυσάσθωσαν τῆς ἀθέου ταύτης ἀπιστίας καὶ τοῦ βλασφημεῖν ἃ μὴ θεμις· ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ἀδύνατον λέγοντες ἀληθεύουσιν οὔτε τὸ ἀβούλητον, ἐκ τῶν ῥηθησομένων γενήσεται φανερόν. 13. Τὸ ἀδύνατόν τι γινώσκεται κατ' ἀλήθειαν τοιοῦτον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γινώσκειν τὸ γενησόμενον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δύναμιν ἀρκοῦσαν μὴ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι καλῶς τὸ ἐγνωσμένον. Ὁ τε γὰρ ἀγνοῶν τι τῶν γενέσθαι δεόντων οὐκ ἂν οὔτ' ἐγερῆσαι οὔτε ποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν δυνηθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀγνοεῖ· ὃ τε γινώσκων καλῶς τὸ ποιηησόμενον, καὶ πόθεν γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ πῶς, δύναμιν δὲ ἢ μὴδ' ὅλως ἔχων πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ γινωσκόμενον ἢ μὴ ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν ἐγχειρήσειε τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ σωφρονοίῃ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπισκέψαιτο δύναμιν, ἐγχειρήσας δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτελέσειε τὸ δόξαν. 14. Ἄλλ' οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Θεὸν δυνατόν τῶν ἀναστησομένων σωμάτων τὴν φύσιν κατὰ τε μέρος ὅλον καὶ μέρος, οὔτε μὴν ὅποι χωρεῖ τῶν λυομένων ἕκαστον, καὶ ποῖον τῶν στοιχείων μέρος δέδεκται

τὸ λυθὲν καὶ χωρῆσαν πρὸς τὸ συγγενές, κἂν πάνυ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδιάκριτον εἶναι δοκῇ τὸ τῷ παντὶ πάλιν προσφυῶς ἡνωμένον. 15. Ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἡγνύητο πρὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκάστου συστάσεως οὔτε τῶν γεννησομένων στοιχείων ἢ φύσις ἐξ ὧν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα, οὔτε τὰ μέρη τούτων ἐξ ὧν ἡμελλεν λήψεσθαι τὸ δόξαν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίου σώματος σύστασιν; εὐδηλον ὡς οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸ διαλυθῆναι τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοηθήσεται τοῦ κεχώρηκεν ἕκαστον ὧν εἴληφε πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου συμπλήρωσιν. 16. Ὅσον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν νῦν κρατοῦσαν παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἐτέρων κρίσιν, μεῖζον τὸ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα προγινώσκειν· ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τούτου σοφίαν, ἀμφότερα κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ ῥάδιον ἐπ' ἴσης τῷ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα προγινώσκειν τὸ καὶ διαλυθέντα γινώσκειν.

III. 17. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρκοῦσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν, δείκνυσιν ἢ τούτων αὐτῶν γένεσις. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν ἐποίησε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀρχάς, καὶ διαλυθέντα, καθ' ὃν ἂν τύχῃ τρόπον, ἀναστήσει μετὰ τῆς ἴσης εὐμαρείας· ἐπ' ἴσης γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. 18. Καὶ τῷ λόγῳ βλάβος οὐδέν, κἂν ἐξ ὕλης ὑποθῶνταί τινες τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς, κἂν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ὡς πρώτων τὰ σώματα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν ἐκ σπερμάτων. Ἦς γὰρ ἐστι δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς νουομισμένην ἄμορφον οὔσαν μορφῶσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀδιακόσμητον πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις εἶδεσι κοσμήσαι, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα ἓν ὃν καὶ ἀπλοῦν εἰς πολλὰ διελεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀδιάρθρωτον διαρθρῶσαι, καὶ τῷ μὴ ζῶντι δοῦναι ζωὴν, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι καὶ τὸ διαλελυμένον ἐνωσαι, καὶ τὸ κείμενον ἀναστήσαι, καὶ τὸ τεθνηκὸς ζωοποιῆσαι πάλιν, καὶ τὸ φθαρτὸν μεταβαλεῖν

εἰς ἀφ' ἧς αἰῶνος. 19. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ τὸ διατεθρυμμένον πληθεύει ζώων παντοδαπῶν, ὅποσα τοῖς τοιούτοις σώμασιν ἐπιτρέχειν εἶωθε καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀγείρειν κόρον, διακρίναι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ἐνώσαι δὲ πάλιν τοῖς οἰκείοις μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις, κἂν εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἐκείνων χωρήσῃ ζῶον, κἂν εἰς πολλά, κἂν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἕτερα, κἂν ἐκείνοις αὐτοῖς συνδιαλυθὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς ἐνεχθῇ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν εἰς ταύτας ἀνάλυσιν· ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ταραττεῖν ἔδοξε τινας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυματοζομένων, ἰσχυρὰς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἡγησαμένων τὰς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν φερομένας διαπορήσεις.

IV. 20. Οὗτοι δὲ γέ φασιν πολλὰ μὲν σώματα τῶν ἐν ναυαγίοις καὶ ποταμοῖς δυσθανάτων ἰχθύσι γενέσθαι τροφήν, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν πολέμοις θνησκόντων ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τραχυτέραν αἰτίαν καὶ πραγμάτων περίστασις ταφῆς ἀμοιρούντων τοῖς προστυγχάνουσι ζώοις προκεῖσθαι βοράν. Τῶν οὖν οὕτως ἀναλίσκομένων σωμάτων, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα συμπληρούντων μερῶν καὶ μορίων εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ζώων διαθρυπτομένων καὶ διὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς τῶν τρεφόμενων σώμασιν ἐνουμένων, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν διάκρισιν τούτων φασὶν ἀδύνατον, πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπορώτερον. 21. Τῶν γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκβοσκηθέντων ζώων, ὅποσα πρὸς τροφήν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτήδεια, διὰ τῆς τούτων γαστρὸς ἰόντων καὶ τοῖς τῶν μετεληφόντων σώμασιν ἐνουμένων, ἀνάγκη εἶναι πᾶσαν, τὰ μέρη τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅποσα τροφήν γέγονε τοῖς μετεληφόσι ζώοις, πρὸς ἕτερα τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταχωρεῖν σώματα, τῶν μεταξὺ τούτοις τραφέντων ζώων τὴν ἐξ ὧν ἐτράφησαν τροφήν διαπορθευόντων εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐγένετο τροφή. 22. Εἴτα τούτοις ἐπιτραγωδοῦσι τὰς ἐν λιμοῖς καὶ μανίαις τολμηθείσας τεκνοφαγίας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἐπιβουλήν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν γεννησαμένων ἐδεδεσμένους παῖδας, καὶ

τὴν Μηδικὴν τράπεζαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὰ τραγικὰ δεῖπνα
 Θυέστου καὶ τοιαύτας δὴ τινὰς ἐπισυνείρουσι παρ' Ἑλλήσι
 καὶ βαρβάρους καινουργηθείσας συμφοράς· ἔκ τε τούτων
 κατασκευάζουσιν, ὡς νομίζουσιν, ἀδύνατον τὴν ἀνάστασιν,
 ὡς οὐ δυναμένων τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν ἑτέροις τε καὶ ἑτέροις
 συναναστῆναι σώμασιν, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ τῶν προτέρων συστή-
 ναι μὴ δύνασθαι, μετεληλυθότων τῶν ταῦτα συμπληρούν-
 των μερῶν πρὸς ἑτέρους, ἢ τούτων ἀποδοξέντων τοῖς προ-
 τέροις ἐνδεῶς ἔξιν τὰ τῶν ὑστέρων.

V. 23. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
 τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος καὶ διοικοῦντος τύδε τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοεῖν
 δύναμιν τε καὶ σοφίαν, ἐκάστου ζώου φύσει καὶ γένει τὴν
 προσφυῇ καὶ κατάλληλον συναρμόσαντος τροφήν, καὶ μήτε
 πᾶσαν φύσιν πρὸς ἔνωσιν ἢ κρᾶσιν παντὸς σώματος ἵεναι
 δικαίωσαντος μήτε πρὸς διάκρισιν τῶν ἐνωθέντων ἀπό-
 ρως ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατ' ἑαστον φύσει τῶν γε-
 νομένων τὸ δρᾶν ἢ πάσχειν ἃ πέφυκεν ἐπιτρέποντος,
 ἄλλοτε καὶ κωλύοντος, καὶ πᾶν ὃ βούλεται καὶ πρὸς ὃ
 βούλεται συγχωροῦντος ἢ μεταστρέφοντος· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
 εἰρημένοις μηδὲ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν τρεφόντων ἢ τρεφομέ-
 νων ἐπεσκέφθαι δύναμιν τε καὶ φύσιν. 24. Ἡ γὰρ ἂν
 ἔγνωσαν ὅτι μὴ πᾶν ὃ προσφέρεται τις ὑπενδύσει τῆς
 ἔξωθεν ἀνάγκης, τοῦτο γίνεται τῇ ζωῇ τροφῇ προσφυής·
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἅμα τῷ προσομιλῆσαι τοῖς περιπτυσσομένοις
 τῆς κοιλίας μέρεσι φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἐμούμενα τε καὶ
 διαχωρούμενα καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον διαφορούμενα, ὡς μηδὲ
 κατὰ βραχὺ τὴν πρώτην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπομεῖναι πέψιν,
 ἢ πού γε τὴν εἰς τὸ τρεφόμενον σύγκρασιν· ὥσπεροῦν
 οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ πεφθὲν καὶ τὴν πρώτην δεξάμενον μεταβολὴν
 τοῖς τρεφομένοις μορίοις προσπελάζει πάντως, τινῶν μὲν
 κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν γαστέρα τῆς θρεπτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀποκρι-
 νομένων, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν

ἥπατι γινομένην πέψιν διακρινομένων, καὶ πρὸς ἑτερόν τι μεταχωρούντων ὁ τὴν τοῦ τρέφειν ἐκβέβηκε δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτῆς γε τῆς ἐν ἥπατι γινομένης μεταβολῆς οὐ πάσης εἰς τροφήν ἀνθρώποις χωρούσης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἃ πέφυκε περιπτώματα διακρινομένης· τῆς τε καταλειφθείσης τροφῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐσθ' ὅτε τοῖς τρεφομένοις μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις πρὸς ἑτερόν τι μεταβαλλούσης, κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ἢ περιπεύοντος καὶ φθείρειν πῶς ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τρέπειν τὸ πλησιάσαν εἰωζύτος.

VI. 25. Πολλῆς οὖν οὔσης ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις τῆς φυσικῆς διαφορᾶς, καὶ αὐτῆς γε τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τροφῆς ἐκάστῃ γένει ζώου καὶ τῇ τρεφομένῳ σώματι συνεξαλλαστομένης, τριττῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ζώου τροφήν γινομένης καθάρσεως καὶ διακρίσεως, δεῖ πάντως φθείρεσθαι μὲν καὶ διαχωρεῖν ἢ πέφυκεν ἢ πρὸς ἑτερόν τι μεταβάλλειν πᾶν ὑπύσον ἀλλότριον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζώου τροφήν, ὡς συγκραθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενον, συμβαίνουσιν δὲ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος σώματος δύναμιν ταῖς τοῦ τρεφομένου ζώου δυνάμεσι, καὶ ταύτην ἰλδοῦσαν δι' ὧν πέφυκε κριτηρίων καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς φυσικοῖς καθαρσίοις εἰλικρινεστάτην γενέσθαι πρόσληψιν εἰς οὐσίαν· ἦν δὴ καὶ μόνην ἐπαληθεύων ἂν τις τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνομάσειεν τροφήν, ὡς ἀποβάλλουσιν πᾶν ὑπύσον ἀλλότριον καὶ βλαβερόν εἰς τὴν τοῦ τρεφομένου ζώου σύστασιν καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκείνον ὄγκον ἐπεισαχθέντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως θεραπείαν. 26. Ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἐνούσθαι τῇ τρεφομένῳ σώματι, συνδιαπλεκομένην τε καὶ περιπλαττομένην πᾶσι τοῖς τούτου μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις· τὴν δὲ ἐτέρως ἔχουσιν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν φθείρεσθαι μὲν ταχέως, ἦν ἐρρώμενεστέρα συμμίξῃ δυνάμει, φθείρειν δὲ σὺν εὐμαρείᾳ τὴν κρατηθεῖσαν, εἰς τε μοχθηροὺς ἐκτρέπεσθαι χυμοὺς καὶ

φαρμακῶδεις ποιότητας, ὡς μηδὲν οἰκείον ἢ φίλον τῇ τρεφομένῳ σώματι φέρουσαν. 27. Καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον μέγιστον τὸ πολλοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων ζώων ἐκ τούτων ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄλγος ἢ κίνδυνον ἢ θάνατον, ἣν ὑπὸ σφοδρῶς ὀρέξεως τῇ τροφῇ καταμεμιγμένον συνεφελκύσεται τι φαρμακῶδες καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ὃ δὴ καὶ πάντως φθαρτικὸν ἂν εἴη τοῦ τρεφομένου σώματος, εἰ γε τρέφεται μὲν τὰ τρεφόμενα τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, φθείρεται δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις. 28. Εἴπερ οὖν τῇ διαφορῇ τῶν τῇ φύσει διαφερόντων ζώων ἢ κατὰ φύσιν συνδιήρηται τροφή, καὶ ταύτης γε αὐτῆς οὔτε πᾶν ὑπερ ἂν προσενέγκηται τὸ ζῶον οὔτε τὸ τυχόν· ἐκ τούτου τὴν πρὸς τὸ τρεφόμενον σῶμα δέχεται σύγκρασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ διὰ πάσης πέψεως κεκαθαρμένον καὶ μεταβιβληκὸς εἰλικρινῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποιοῦ σώματος ἔνωσιν καὶ τοῖς τρεφομένοις μέρεσιν εὐάρμυστον, εὐδηλον ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἐνωθεῖη ποτ' ἂν τούτοις οἷς οὐκ ἔστι τροφή προσφυῆς καὶ κατάλληλος, ἀλλ' ἦτοι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν κοιλίαν διαχωρεῖ, πρὶν ἕτερόν τινα γεννῆσαι χυμόν, ὡμὸν καὶ διεφθαρμένον, ἢ συστὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τίκτει πάθος ἢ νόσον δυσίατον, συνδιαφθείρουσαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τροφήν ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς τροφῆς δεομένην σάρκα. Ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀπωσθῇ ποτε, φαρμάκοις τισὶν ἢ σιτίοις βελτίοσιν ἢ ταῖς φυσικαῖς δυνάμεσι νικηθέν, μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐξερρύμῃ τῆς βλάβης, ὡς μηδὲν φέρον τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν εἰρηνικὸν διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀσύγκρατον.

VII. 29. Ὅλως δὲ κἂν συγχωρήσῃ τις τὴν ἐκ τούτων εἰσιούσαν τροφήν (προσειρήσθω δὲ τοῦτο συνηθέστερον), καίπερ οὖσαν παρὰ φύσιν, διακρίνεσθαι καὶ ματαβάλλειν εἰς ἓν τι τῶν ὑγραινόντων ἢ ξηραινόντων ἢ θερμαινόντων ἢ ψυχόντων, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐκ τῶν συγχωρηθέντων αὐτοῖς γενήσεται τι προὔργου, τῶν μὲν ἀνισταμένων σωμάτων ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν πάλιν συνισταμένων, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν

εἰρημένων μέρους ὄντος, οὐδὲ τὴν ὥς μέρους ἐπέχοντος
 σχέσιν ἢ τάξιν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παραμένοντος πάντοτε τοῖς
 τρεφομένοις τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν, ἢ συνανισταμένου τοῖς
 ἀνισταμένοις, οὐδὲν συντελοῦντος ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν οὐχ
 αἵματος οὐ φλέγματος οὐ χολῆς οὐ πνεύματος. 30. Οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ὧν ἐδεῖθη ποτὲ τὰ τρεφόμενα σώματα δεηθήσεται καὶ
 τότε, συνανηρημένης τῇ τῶν τρεφομένων ἐνδείᾳ καὶ φθορᾷ
 τῆς ἐξ ὧν ἐτρέφετο χρείας. "Ἐπειδ' ὅτι καὶ μέχρι σαρκὸς
 φθάνειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης τροφῆς μεταβολὴν ὑποθιτό
 τις, οὐδ' οὕτως. ἀνάγκη τις ἔσται τὴν νεωστὶ μεταβληθεῖσαν
 ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης τροφῆς σάρκα, προσπελάσασαν ἑτέρου τινὸς
 ἀνθρώπου σώματι, πάλιν ὥς μέρος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τελεῖν
 συμπλήρωσιν, τῇ μίτῃ αὐτὴν τὴν προσλαμβάνουσαν σάρκα
 πάντοτε φυλάττειν ἣν προσείληφε, μίτῃ τὴν ἐνωθεῖσαν
 ταύτῃ μόνιμον εἶναι καὶ παραμένειν ἢ προσετέθη, πολλὴν
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα δέχεσθαι μεταβολὴν, ποτὲ μὲν
 πόνοις ἢ φροντίσι διαφορουμένην, ἄλλοτε δὲ λύπαις ἢ
 καμάτοις ἢ νόσοις συντηκομένην, καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἐγκαύσεως
 ἢ περιψύξεως ἐπιγενομέναις δυσκρασίαις, μὴ συμεταβαλ-
 λομένων σαρκὶ καὶ πιμελῇ τῶν δημῶν ἐν τῇ μένειν ἄπερ
 ἐστὶν τὴν τροφὴν δεχομένων. 31. Τοιούτων δὲ γινομένων
 ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς παθημάτων, πολὺ γ' ἔτι μᾶλλον εὗροι τις
 ἂν ταῦτα πάσχουσιν τὴν ἐξ ἀνοικείων τρεφομένην σάρκα,
 νῦν μὲν εἰς ὄγκον προϊοῦσαν καὶ παινομένην ἐξ ὧν προ-
 σείληφεν, εἶτα πάλιν ἀποπτύουσιν ὅν ἂν τύχη-τρόπον καὶ
 μειουμένην ἢ μιᾷ τινι τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ῥηθειςῶν αἰτιῶν ἢ
 πλείοσι· μόνα δὲ παραμένειν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἃ συνδεῖν ἢ
 στέγειν ἢ θάλπειν πέφυκεν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξειλεγμέ-
 νην καὶ τούτοις προσπεφυκυῖαν οἷς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν συνεξέ-
 πλησε ζωὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ πόνους. 32. Ἀλλ' οὔτε
 γὰρ καθ' ὃ δεῖ κρινομένων τῶν ἐναγχος ἐξητασμένων, οὔτε
 κατὰ συγχώρησιν παραδεχθέντων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γεγυμνα-

σμένων, ἀληθῆς δεικνύναι δυνατόν τὸ πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενον, οὐτ' ἂν συγκραθεῖη ποτὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσι φύσεως, κἂν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ποτὲ κλαπῶσι τὴν αἴσθησιν δι' ἑτέρου τινὸς μετασχόντες τοιοῦτου σώματος, κἂν αὐτόθεν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἢ μανίας ὁμοειδοῦς τινος μιανθῶσι σώματι· εἴ γε μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τινες ὄντες θῆρες, ἢ μικτὴν ἔχοντες φύσιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θηρίων, οἷους πλάττειν εἰώθασιν οἱ τολμηρότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν.

VIII. 33. Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν μηδενὶ ζῳῳ πρὸς τροφήν ἀποκληρωθέντων σωμάτων, μόνην δὲ τὴν εἰς γῆν ταφήν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς φύσεως μεμοιραμένων, ὅπου γε μηδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ζώων τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶδους εἰς τροφήν ἀπεκλήρωσεν ὁ ποιήσας, κἂν ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑτερογενῶν τροφή γίνηται κατὰ φύσιν; 34. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχουσι δεικνύναι σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώποις εἰς βρώσιν ἀποκληρωθείσας, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὰς ἀλληλαφαγίας εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν τῇ φύσει συγκεχωρημένων, καὶ τοὺς γε τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν τολμώντας τοῖς τῶν φιλάτων ἐντροφᾶν σώμασιν, ὡς οἰκειοτέροις, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἐνουστάτους σφίσι τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἐστιᾶν. 35. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν εὐαγές, τὸ δὲ σαρκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπους μετασχεῖν ἔχθιστόν τι καὶ παμμίαρον καὶ πάσης ἐκδέσμου καὶ παρὰ φύσιν βρώσεως ἢ πράξεως ἐναγέστερον, τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἂν ποτε χωρήσειεν εἰς τροφήν τοῖς ταύτης δεομένοις μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις, τὸ δὲ μὴ χωροῦν εἰς τροφήν οὐκ ἂν ἐνωθεῖη τούτοις ἂ μηδὲ τρέφειν πέφυκει, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα συγκριθεῖη ποτ' ἂν τοῖς ὁμοίοις σώμασιν, οἷς ἐστὶν εἰς τροφήν παρὰ φύσιν, κἂν πολλάκις διὰ τῆς τούτων ἤ γαστρὸς κατὰ τινα πικροτάτην συμφορὰν· ἀποχωροῦντα δὲ τῆς θρεπτικῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ σκιδνάμενα πρὸς ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἐξ ὧν τὴν πρώτην ἔσχε σύστα-

σιν, ἐνοῦται μὲν τούτοις ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστον τύχη χρόνον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διακριθέντα πάλιν σοφία καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ πᾶσαν ζωῶν φύσιν σὺν ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσι συγκρίναντος ἐνοῦται προσφυνῶς ἕκαστον ἐκάστω, κἂν πυρὶ καυθῇ, κἂν ὕδατι κατασαπῇ, κἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων ἢ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ζώων καταδαπανηθῇ, κἂν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐκκοπὲν προδιαλυθῇ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν· ἐνωθέντα δὲ πάλιν ἀλλήλοις τὴν αὐτὴν ἴσχει χώραν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ σύστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεκρωθέντος ἢ καὶ πάντη διαλυθέντος ἀνάστασιν καὶ ζωὴν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πλείονη μὲν οὐκ εὐκαιρον· ὁμολογουμένην γὰρ ἔχει τὴν ἐπίκρισιν, τοῖς γε μὴ μιζοθήροισι.

IX. 36. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐξέτασιν χρησιμωτέρων, παραιτοῦμαι δὴ νῦν τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα καὶ τοὺς τούτων δημιουργοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ συντριβέντα τῶν ἔργων ἢ χρόνῳ παλαιωθέντα ἢ καὶ ἄλλως διαφθαρέντα καινουργεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσιν, εἴτα ἐξ ὁμοίου τοῖς κεραμεῦσι καὶ τέκτοσι δεικνύναι πειρωμένους τὸ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μήτ' ἂν βουληθῆναι μήτε βουληθέντα δυνηθῆναι νεκρωθῆν ἢ καὶ διαλυθῆν ἀναστῆσαι σῶμα, καὶ μὴ λογιζομένους ὅτι διὰ τούτων τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐξυβρίζουσιν εἰς Θεόν, συνεξισοῦντες τῶν πάντη διεσθηκότων τὰς δυνάμεις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύταις χρωμένων τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τοῖς φυσικοῖς. 37. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων σπουδάζειν οὐκ ἀνεπιτίμητον· ἡλίθιον γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ τοῖς ἐπιπολαίοις καὶ ματαίοις ἀντιλέγειν. Μακρῷ γε μὴν ἐνδοξότερον καὶ πάντων ἀληθέστατον τὸ φῆσαι τὸ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον παρὰ Θεῷ δυνατόν. Εἰ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς ἐνδόξων καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μικρῶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξήτασμένων δείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος δυνατόν, εὐδηλον ὡς οὐκ ἀδύνατον. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἀβούλητον.

X. 38. Τὸ γὰρ ἀβούλητον ἢ ὡς ἄδικον αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἀβούλητον ἢ ὡς ἀνάξιον. Καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἄδικον ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται τὸν ἀναστησόμενον ἢ περὶ ἄλλον τινὰ παρ' αὐτόν. Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖται τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀριθμουμένων, πρόδηλον. Οὔτε γὰρ αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστάσεως ἀδικηθεῖεν ἄν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμπόδιόν τι ταύταις πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, οὐ βλάβος οὐχ ὕβρις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνάστασις· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἢ φύσις οὐδὲ τῶν ἀψύχων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσται μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν· περὶ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὄν οὐδὲν ἄδικον. 39. Εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι τις ὑποδοίτο διὰ παντός, οὐκ ἂν ἀδικηθεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων ἀνανεωθέντων· εἰ γὰρ ὑπέκοντα νῦν τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταῖς τούτων χρείαις ὄντων ἐνδεῶν, ὑπὸ τε ζυγὸν ἠγμένα καὶ δουλείαν παντοίαν, οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖται, πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀφάρτων καὶ ἀνευδεῶν γενομένων καὶ μηκέτι δεομένων τῆς τούτων χρείας, ἐλευθερωθέντα ἐξ πάσης δουλείας οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται. 40. Οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ φωνῆς μετεῖχεν, ἡτιάσατο ἂν τὸν δημιουργὸν ὡς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλαττούμενα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς τούτοις τετύχηκεν ἀναστάσεως. Ὡν γὰρ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἴση, τούτοις οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος ἴσον ὁ δίκαιος ἐπιμετρεῖ. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, παρ' οἷς οὐδεμία τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις οὐδὲ μέμψις ἀδικίας. 41. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο φῆσαι δυνατόν ὡς περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται τις ἀδικία τὸν ἀνιστάμενον ἄνθρωπον. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὗτος ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, οὔτε δὲ εἰς ψυχὴν οὔτε εἰς σῶμα δέχεται τὴν ἀδικίαν. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀδικεῖσθαι φήσει τις σωφρονῶν, ὅτι λήσεται γε ταύτῃ συνεκβάλλων καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν· εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἐν φθαρτῇ καὶ παθῆναι κατοικοῦσα σώματι μὴ ἐν ἡδίκηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀφάρτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ συζῶσα οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται. 42. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἀδικεῖται τι· εἰ γὰρ νῦν φθαρτὸν ἀφάρτῳ

συνὸν οὐκ ἀδικεῖται, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδ' ἄφθαρτον ἀφάρτῳ συνὸν ἀδικηθήσεται. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνο φαίη τις ἂν ὡς ἀνάξιον ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ διαλυθὲν ἀναστῆσαι σῶμα καὶ συναγαγεῖν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ χεῖρον οὐκ ἀνάξιον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ φθαρτὸν ποιῆσαι σῶμα καὶ παθητόν, πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἀνάξιον, ὕπερ ἐστὶν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀπαθές.

XI. 43. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πρώτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων δέδεικται τῶν ἐξητασμένων ἕκαστον, εὐδελον ὅτι καὶ δυνατόν καὶ βουλητόν καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔργον ἢ τῶν διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ἐδείχθη ψεῦδος τὸ τούτοις ἀντικείμενον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀπιστούντων παράλογον. Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῆς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀντιστροφῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα συναφείας, εἴ γε δεῖ καὶ συνάφειαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἑτερότητί τινι κεχωρισμένων, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ δυνατόν λέγειν βουλητόν, καὶ τὸ τῇ Θεῷ βουλητόν πάντως εἶναι δυνατόν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βουληθέντος ἀξίαν; 44. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἕτερος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἴρηται διὰ τῶν προλαβόντων μετρίως, οἷς τε διενήνοχεν ἕκαστος, καὶ πότε καὶ πρὸς τίνας ἔχει τὸ χρήσιμον· κωλύει δὲ ἴσως οὐδέν, τῆς τε κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς τὰ λειπόμενα συναφείας, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις προσηκόντων πάλιν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. 45. Προσηκε δὲ τῇ μὲν τὸ πρωτεύειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῇ δὲ τὸ δορυφορεῖν τὸν πρῶτον ὁδοποιεῖν τε καὶ προανείργειν πᾶν ὁπόσον ἐμποδὼν καὶ πρόσαντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ἀναγκαῖος ὢν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, πρωτοστατεῖ καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ· τῇ φύσει μὲν, ὡς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων γνῶσιν παρεχόμενος, τῇ τάξει δέ, ὡς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἅμα τούτοις ὑπάρχων ὢν γίνεται μηνυτής, τῇ χρείᾳ δέ, ὡς τῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας

τοῖς γινώσκουσι γινόμενος πρόξενος. 46. Ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας φύσει τε καὶ δυνάμει καταδέεστερος, ἔλαττον γὰρ τὸ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐλέγχειν τοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρατύνειν· καὶ τάξει δεύτερος, κατὰ γὰρ τῶν ψευδοδοξούντων ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν· ψευδοδοξία δὲ ἐξ ἐπισποράς ἐπεφύη καὶ παραφθοράς. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων προτάττεται πολλάκις καὶ γίνεται ποτε χρειωδέστερος, ὥς ἀναιρῶν καὶ προκαθαίρων τὴν ἐνοχλοῦσάν τισιν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι προσιοῦσι τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν ἢ ψευδοδοξίαν. 47. Καὶ πρὸς ἓν μὲν ἐκάτερος ἀναφέρεται τέλος· εἰς γὰρ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν ὃ τε τὸ ψεῦδος ἐλέγχων καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρατύνων· οὐ μὴν καὶ καθάπαξ ἓν εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀναγκαῖος, ὥς ἔφην, πῶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας φροντίζουσιν, ὁ δ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τισι καὶ πρὸς τινὰς γίνεται χρειωδέστερος. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν κεφαλαιωδῶς προειρήσθω πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν ἤδη λεχθέντων. 48. Ἰτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον, καὶ δεικτέον ἀληθῆ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον ἀπὸ τε τῆς αἰτίας αὐτῆς, καθ' ἣν καὶ δι' ἣν ὁ πρῶτος γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος οἱ τε μετ' ἐκείνον, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον γεγόνασι τρόπον, ἀπὸ τε τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως, ἔτι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις κρίσεως, καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστος ἔζησε χρόνον καὶ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτεύσατο νόμους, ἣν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσειεν εἶναι δικαίαν.

XII. 49. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας λόγος, ἐὰν ἐπισκοπῶμεν πότερον ἀπλῶς καὶ μάτην γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος ἢ τινος ἕνεκεν· εἰ δέ τινος ἕνεκεν, πότερον ἐπὶ τοῦτο γενόμενον αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν καὶ διαμένειν καθ' ἣν ἐγένετο φύσιν ἢ διὰ χρείαν τινός· εἰ δὲ κατὰ χρείαν, ἥτοι τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἢ ἄλλου τινός τῶν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων καὶ πλείονος φροντίδος ἡξιωμένων. 50. Ὁ δὲ καὶ κοινότερον

σκοποῦντες εὐρίσκομεν ὅτι πᾶς εὖ φρονῶν καὶ λογικῇ κρίσει πρὸς τὸ ποιῆν τι κινούμενος οὐδὲν ὦν κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἐνεργεῖ ποιεῖ μάτην, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκεν χρήσεως ἢ διὰ χρείαν ἄλλου τινὸς ὦν πεφρόντικεν ἢ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ γινόμενον, ὁλκῇ τινι φυσικῇ καὶ στοργῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν κινούμενος· οἷον (λεγέσθω γὰρ δι' εἰκόνας τινός, ἵνα σαφὲς γένηται τὸ προκείμενον) ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν οἶκον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν χρείαν, ποιεῖ δὲ βουσί καὶ καμήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις, ὦν ἐστὶν ἐνδεής, τὴν ἐκάστῃ τούτων ἀρμόζουσαν σκέπην, οὐκ ἰδίας ἔνεκεν χρήσεως κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸ τέλος διὰ τοῦτο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ προσεχὲς διὰ τὴν τούτων ὦν πεφρόντικεν ἐπιμέλειαν· ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ παῖδας οὔτε διὰ χρείαν ἰδίαν οὔτε δι' ἑτερόν τι τῶν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ εἶναι τε καὶ διαμίνειν κατ' ὅσον οἶόν τε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννωμένους, τῇ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων διαδοχῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν παραμυθούμενος καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ θνητὸν ἀπαθανατίζειν οἰόμενος. 51. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων. Ὁ μέντοι Θεὸς οὐτ' ἂν μάτην ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἔστι γὰρ σοφός, οὐδὲν δὲ σοφίας ἔργον μάταιον· οὔτε διὰ χρείαν ἰδίαν· παντὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἀπροσδεής. Τῷ δὲ μηδεὸς διομένῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων συντελέσειεν ἂν εἰς χρείαν ἰδίαν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διὰ τινὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἔργων ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν λόγῳ καὶ κρίσει χρωμένων οὔτε τῶν μειζόνων οὔτε τῶν καταδεεστέρων γέγονεν ἢ γίνεται πρὸς ἑτέρου χρείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν τῶν γενομένων ζωὴν τε καὶ διαμονήν. 52. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ λόγος εὐρίσκει τινὰ χρείαν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως αἰτίαν, τῶν μὲν ἀθανάτων ἀνενδεῶν ὄντων καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μηδαμῶς παρ' ἀνθρώπων συντελείας πρὸς τὸ εἶναι δεομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀλόγων ἀρχομένων κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τὰς πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν ἕκαστον χρείας ἀνθρώποις ἀποπλη-

ρούντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὖ τούτοις χρῆσθαι πεφυκότων· θέμις
 γὰρ οὔτε ἦν οὔτε ἐστὶ τὸ ἄρχον καὶ ἡγεμόνου ὑπάγειν εἰς
 χρῆσιν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν, ἢ τὸ λογικὸν ὑποτάττειν ἀλόγοις,
 οὔσι πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνεπιτηδείοις. 53. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μήτε
 ἀναιτίως καὶ μάτην γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος (οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν
 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένων μάταιον, κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ ποιήσαντος
 γνώμην), μήτε χρείας ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἢ ἄλ-
 λου τινὸς τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένων ποιημάτων, εὐδηλον
 ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον καὶ κοινότερον λόγον δι' ἑαυτὸν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς δημιουργίας θεωρουμένην ἀγαθότητα
 καὶ σοφίαν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν
 προσεχέστερον τοῖς γενομένοις λόγον διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν
 γενομένων ζωὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἐξαπτομένην, εἴτα παν-
 τελῶς σβεννυμένην. 54. Ἐρπετοῖς γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ πτηνοῖς
 καὶ νηκτοῖς ἢ καὶ κοινότερον εἰπεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλόγοις τὴν
 τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἀπένειμεν ὁ Θεός· τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὸν ποιητὴν, νοῦν τε συνεπιφερομένοις
 καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως μεμοιραμένοις, τὴν εἰς αἰὶ διαμονὴν
 ἀπεκλήρωσεν ὁ ποιητής, ἵνα γινώσκοντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν ποιη-
 τὴν καὶ τὴν τούτου δυνάμιν τε καὶ σοφίαν, νόμῳ τε συνε-
 πόμενοι καὶ δίκῃ, τούτοις συνδιαιωνίζωσιν ἀπόνως οἷς τὴν
 προλαβοῦσαν ἐκράτουναν ζωὴν, καίπερ ἐν φθαρτοῖς καὶ
 γήινοις ὄντες σώμασιν. 55. Ὅποσα μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου του
 χάριν γέγονεν, παυσαμένων ἐκείνων ὧν ἔνεκεν γέγονε,
 παύσεται εἰκότως καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γενόμενα τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ
 ἂν διαμένει μάτην, ὥς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενο-
 μένοις τοῦ ματαίου χώραν ἔχοντος· τὰ γε μὴν δι' αὐτὸ
 τὸ εἶναι καὶ ζῆν καθ' ὧς πέφυκε γενόμενα, ὥς αὐτῆς τῆς
 αἰτίας τῇ φύσει συνειλημμένης καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ εἶναι
 θεωρουμένης, οὐδεμίαν οὐδέποτε δέξαιτ'· ἂν τὴν τὸ εἶναι
 παντελῶς ἀφανίζουσιν αἰτίαν. 56. Ταύτης δὲ ἐν τῇ εἶναι
 πάντοτε θεωρουμένης, δεῖ σώζεσθαι πάντως καὶ τὸ γενό-

μενον ζῶον, ἐνεργοῦν τε καὶ πάσχον ἃ πέφυκεν, ἐκατέρου τούτων ἐξ ὧν γέγονε τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεισφέροντος, καὶ τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς οὔσης τε καὶ διαμενούσης ὁμαλῶς ἐν ἧ γέγονε φύσει, καὶ διαπονούσης ἃ πέφυκεν (πέφυκε δὲ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιστατεῖν ὁρμαῖς καὶ τὸ προσπίπτον αἰεὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι κρίνειν καὶ μετρεῖν κριτηρίοις καὶ μέτροις), τοῦ δὲ σώματος κινουμένου κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς ἃ πέφυκεν, καὶ τὰς ἀποκληρωθεῖσας αὐτῷ δεχομένου μεταβολάς, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας ἢ κατ' εἶδος ἢ μέγεθος τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Εἶδος γάρ τι μεταβολῆς, καὶ πάντων ὕστατον, ἡ ἀνάστασις ἣ τε τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον περιόντων ἔτι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολή.

XIII. 57. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τεθαρρήκύτες, οὐ μείον ἢ τοῖς ἤδη γενομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπισκοποῦντες φύσιν, τὴν τε μετ' ἐνδείας καὶ φθορᾶς ζωὴν στέργομεν, ὡς τῷ παρόντι βίῳ προσήκουσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ διαμονὴν ἐλπίζομεν βεβαίως· ἦν οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀναπλάττομεν μάτην, ψευδέσιν ἑαυτοὺς βουκολοῦντες ἐλπίσιν, ἀπλανεστάτῳ δὲ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐχεγγύῃ, τῇ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἡμᾶς γνώμῃ, καθ' ἣν ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ σώματος, νοῦν τε συγκατεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ καὶ νόμον ἔμφυτον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένων, ἔμφρονί τε βίῳ καὶ ζωῇ λογικῇ προσηκόντων, εὖ εἰδότες ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοιοῦτον κατεσκεύασε ζῶον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς διαμονὴν ἐκόσμησεν, εἰ μὴ διαμένειν ἐβούλετο τὸ γενόμενον. 58. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῇ ζωῆς ἔμφρονος μετασχεῖν, καὶ γενόμενον θεωρὸν τῆς τε μεγαλοπρεπείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσι σοφίας τῇ τούτων συνδιαμένειν αἰεὶ θεωρίᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην καὶ καθ' ἣν εἴληχε φύσιν, ἡ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία πιστοῦται τὴν εἰς αἰεὶ διαμονήν, ἡ δὲ διαμονὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν διαμείνειεν ἄνθρωπος. 59. Ἐκ δὲ

τῶν εἰρημένων εὐδηλον ὥς τῇ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ποιήσαντος δέικνυται σαφῶς ἡ ἀνάστασις. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς αἰτίας οὕσης, καθ' ἣν εἰς τόνδε παρῆκται τὸν κόσμον ἄνθρωπος, ἀκούουσαν ἂν εἴη τὸν τούτοις κατὰ φύσιν ἢ καθ' εἰρμὸν ἐπόμενον διασκέψασθαι λόγον· ἔπεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῇ μὲν αἰτία τῆς γενέσεως ἢ τῶν γεννηθέντων ἀνθρώπων φύσις, τῇ δὲ φύσει τῶν γενομένων ἢ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις δικαία κρίσις, τούτοις τε πᾶσι τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος. Ἐξητασμένων δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν προτεταγμένων ἐπισκεπτέον ἐξῆς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν.

XIV. 60. Ἡ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δογμάτων ἢ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν εἰς ἐξέτασιν προβαλλομένων ἀπόδειξις, τὴν ἀπλανῇ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπιφέρουσα πίστιν, οὐκ ἔξωθεν ποθεῖν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν τισι δοκούντων ἢ δεδογμένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ φυσικῆς ἐννοίας ἢ τῆς πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν δευτέρων ἀκολουθίας. 61. Ἡ γὰρ περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐστὶ δογμάτων, καὶ δεῖ μόνης ὑπομνήσεως τῆς τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνακινούσης ἐννοίαν, ἢ περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπομένων τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας, καὶ δεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεως, δεικνύντας τί τοῖς πρώτοις ἢ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἀκολουθεῖ κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ἐπὶ τὸ μήτε τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀσφαλείας ἀμελεῖν, μήτε τὰ τῇ φύσει τεταγμένα καὶ διωρισμένα συγχεῖν ἢ τὸν φυσικὸν εἰρμὸν διασπᾶν. 62. Ὅθεν οἶμαι χρῆναι δίκαιον περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐσπουδακώς, καὶ κρίνειν ἐμφρόνως θέλοντας εἴτε γίνεται τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις εἴτε μή, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν καλῶς τῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε δεῖξιν συντελούντων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ποῖαν ἕκαστον εἴληχε χώραν, καὶ τί μὲν τούτων πρῶτον τί δὲ δεύτερον τί δὲ τρίτον τί δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕστατον. 63. Ταῦτα δὲ διαταξαμένους χρὴ πρῶτην μὲν τάξαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος γνώμην καθ' ἣν

ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον, ταύτη δὲ προσφυνῶς ἐπισυνάψαι τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, οὐχ ὡς τῇ τάξει δευτερεύουσιν, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρων γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα συνυπάρχωσιν ἀλλήλαις καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον τὴν ἴσιν παρέχονται δύναμιν. 64. Διὰ δὲ τούτων, ὡς πρώτων καὶ τὴν ἐκ δημιουργίας ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν, ἐναργῶς δεικνυμένης τῆς ἀναστάσεως, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ διὰ τῶν τῆς προνοίας λόγων ἔστι λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ ταύτης πίστιν, λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐκάστη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφειλομένης κατὰ δικαίαν κρίσιν τιμῆς ἢ δίκης καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τέλους. Πολλοὶ γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον διαλαμβάνοντες τῷ τρίτῳ μόνῃ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπῆρεισαν αἰτίαν, νομίσαντες τὴν αἰτίαν γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κρίσιν. 65. Τοῦτο δὲ περιφανῶς δέικνται ψεῦδος ἐκ τοῦ πάντας μὲν ἀνίστασθαι τοὺς ἀποκνήσκοντας ἀνθρώπους, μὴ πάντας δὲ κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀναστάντας· εἰ γὰρ μόνον τὸ κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν δίκαιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἦν αἴτιον, ἐχρῆν δήπου τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας ἢ κατορθώσαντας μηδ' ἀνίστασθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας· ἐξὸν δὲ πάντας ἀνίστασθαι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ διῃ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν τελευτήσαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ δικαιοῦσιν ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν κρίσιν ἡ ἀνάστασις γίνεται κατὰ πρῶτον λόγον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος γνώμην καὶ τὴν τῶν δημιουργηθέντων φύσιν.

XV. 66. Ἀρκούσης δὲ καὶ μόνης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεωρουμένης αἰτίας δεῖξαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατὰ φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐπομένην τοῖς διαλυθεῖσι σώμασι, δίκαιον ἴσως πρὸς μηδὲν ἀποκνήσαι τῶν προτεθέντων, ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐπομένων ἀφορμὰς ὑποδείξαι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνιδεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις, καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄγουσαν ἔννοιαν καὶ τὴν ἴσιν παρέχου-

σαν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως πίστιν. 67. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσα κοινῶς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῇ συναρμοσθέντος σώματος ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, καὶ μήτε τῇ φύσει τῆς ψυχῆς κατ' ἑαυτὴν μήτε τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος χωρὶς ἀπεκλήρωσε θεὸς τὴν τοιάνδε γένεσιν ἢ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα βίον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γενομένοις ἀνθρώποις, ἵν' ἐξ ὧν γεννῶνται καὶ ζῶσι διαβιώσαντες εἰς ἓν τι καὶ κοινὸν καταλήξωσι τέλος, δεῖ πάντως ἐνὸς ὄντος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ζώου, τοῦ καὶ πάσχοντος ὅποσα πάθη ψυχῆς καὶ ὅποσα τοῦ σώματος, ἐνεργοῦντός τε καὶ πράττοντος ὅποσα τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἢ τῆς λογικῆς δεῖται κρίσεως, πρὸς ἓν τι τέλος ἀναφέρεσθαι πάντα τὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰρμόν, ἵνα πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων συντρέχῃ πρὸς μίαν ἁρμονίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν συμπάθειαν, ἀνθρώπου γένεσις, ἀνθρώπου φύσις, ἀνθρώπου ζωὴ, ἀνθρώπου πράξεις καὶ πάθη, καὶ βίος καὶ τὸ τῇ φύσει προσήκον τέλος. 68. Εἰ δὲ μία τίς ἐστὶν ἁρμονία τοῦ ζώου παντὸς καὶ συμπάθεια, καὶ τῶν ἐκ ψυχῆς φυομένων καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτελουμένων, ἓν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις τέλος. Ἐν δὲ τέλος ἔσται κατ' ἀλήθειαν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύστασιν ὄντος, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶ τέλος τὸ τέλος. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ζῶον ἔσται καθαρῶς, τῶν αὐτῶν ὄντων πάντων ἐξ ὧν ὡς μερῶν τὸ ζῶον. 69. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἰδιάζουσαν ἔνωσιν ἔσται, τῶν διαλυθέντων πάλιν ἐνωθέντων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζώου σύστασιν. Ἡ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστασις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένην δείκνυσιν τὴν τῶν νεκρωθέντων καὶ διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν· ταύτης γὰρ χωρὶς οὐτ' ἂν ἐνωθείη τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλήλοις, οὐτ' ἂν συσταίη τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ φύσις. 70. Εἰ δὲ καὶ νοῦς καὶ λόγος δέδοται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς διάκρισιν νοητῶν, οὐκ οὐσιῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ δόντος ἀγαθότητος καὶ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀνάγκη, διαμενόντων

ὧν ἕνεκεν ἡ λογικὴ δέδοται κρίσις, καὶ αὐτὴν διαμένειν τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις δοθεῖσαν κρίσιν. 71. Ταύτην δὲ διαμένειν ἀδύνατον, μὴ τῆς δεξαμένης αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ διαμενούσης φύσεως. Ὁ δὲ καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον δεξαμένός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν. Ἄνθρωπον ἄρα δεῖ τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ὄντα διαμένειν εἰς αἰεί. Τοῦτον δὲ ἀδύνατον διαμένειν, μὴ ἀνιστάμενον. Ἀναστάσεως γὰρ μὴ γινομένης, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἀνθρώπων διαμένει φύσις. 72. Τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως μὴ διαμενούσης, μάτην μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ συνήρμοσται τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείᾳ καὶ τοῖς τούτου πάθεσι, μάτην δὲ τὸ σῶμα πεπέδηται πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν ὧν ὀρέγεται, ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνίκαις ὑπέικον καὶ χαλιναγωγούμενον, μάταιος δὲ ὁ νοῦς, ματαία δὲ φρόνησις, καὶ δικαιοσύνης παρατήρησις, ἢ καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀσκήσις, καὶ νόμων θέσις καὶ διάταξις, καὶ συνόλως εἰπεῖν πᾶν ὅτι περ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπους καλόν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ γένεσίς τε καὶ φύσις. 73. Εἰ δὲ πάντων καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπελήλαται τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου διδομένων δωρεῶν τὸ μάταιον, δεῖ πάντως τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτελευτήτῳ συνδιδαιωνίζειν τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαμονὴν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν.

XVI. 74. Ξενιζέσθω δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ τὴν θανάτῳ καὶ φθορᾷ διακοπτομένην ζωὴν ὀνομάζομεν διαμονήν, λογιζόμενος ὡς οὐχ εἰς τοῦ προσρήματος ὁ λόγος, οὐχ ἐν τῆς διαμονῆς τὸ μέτρον, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν διαμενόντων φύσις μία. 75. Εἴπερ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἕκαστον τῶν διαμενόντων ἔχει τὴν διαμονήν, οὗτ' ἐπὶ τῶν καθαρῶς ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀθανάτων εὖροι τις ἂν ἰσάζουσιν τὴν διαμονήν, τῇ μηδὲ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν κρείττωνων συνεξισοῦσθαι ταῖς καθ' ὑπόβασιν διαφερούσαις, οὗτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ὁμαλὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀμετάβλητον ἐπιζητεῖν ἄξιον, ἅτε δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένων ἀθανάτων καὶ διαμενόντων μόνῃ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ

ποιήσαντος ἀτελευτήτως, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἐχόντων τὴν ἀμετάβλητον διαμονήν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα προσλαμβάνοντων ἐκ μεταβολῆς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν· 76. Ὑπὲρ ὃ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος βούλεται· πρὸς ἣν ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν τε διάλυσιν τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἐπομένην τῇ μετ' ἐνδείας καὶ φθορᾶς ζωῇ, περιμένομεν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν μετ' ἀφθαρσίας ἐλπίζομεν διαμονήν, οὔτε τῇ τῶν ἀλόγων τελευτῇ συνεξισοῦντες τὴν ἡμετέραν τελευτήν, οὔτε τῇ τῶν ἀθανάτων διαμονῇ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμονήν, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ταύτην συνεξισοῦντες καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν καὶ ζωὴν οἷς μὴ προσῆκεν. 77. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσχεραίνειν ἄξιον, εἴ τις ἀνωμαλία θεωρεῖται περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμονήν, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν καὶ μορίων διάλυσίς τὴν συνεχῇ διακόπτει ζωὴν, διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπογινώσκειν χρὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὴν κατὰ συναίσθησιν ζωὴν διακόπτειν δοκοῦσιν αἱ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον φυσικῶς ἐγγινόμεναι παρέσεις τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, ἰσομέτροις χρόνου διαστήμασιν ὑπνούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάλιν ἀναβιωσκόντων, τὴν αὐτὴν παραιτούμεθα ζωὴν λέγειν· παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν, οἶμαι, τινὲς ἀδελφὸν τοῦ θανάτου τὸν ὕπνον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν προγόνων ἢ πατέρων φύντας γενεαλογοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν ὁμοίων πατρῶν τοῖς τε θανοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπνοῦσιν ἐγγινομένων, ἕνεκά γε τῆς ἡρεμίας καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐπαισθάνεσθαι τῶν παρόντων ἢ γινομένων, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ζωῆς. 78. Εἴπερ οὖν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωὴν τοσαύτης γέμουσαν ἀνωμαλίας ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, καὶ διακοπτομένην πᾶσιν οἷς προείπομεν, οὐ παραιτούμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν ζωὴν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῆς διαλύσεως ζωὴν, ἥτις ἑαυτῇ συνεισάγει τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀπογινώσκειν ὀφείλομεν, κἂν ἐπὶ ποσὸν διακόπτηται τῇ χωρισμῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.

XVII. 79. Αὕτη γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις, ἄνωθεν καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ποιήσαντος συγκεκληρωμένην ἔχουσα τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἀνώμαλον ἔχει τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν διαμονήν, ποτὲ μὲν ὕπνῳ ποτὲ δὲ θανάτῳ διακοπτομένην καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡλικίαν μετὰβολαῖς, οὐκ ἐμφαινομένων ἐναργῶς τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγινομένων. 80. Ἡ τίς ἂν ἐπίστευσεν, μὴ τῇ πείρᾳ δεδιδαγμένος, ἐν ὁμοιομερεῖ καὶ διαπλάστῃ τῇ σπέρματι τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀποκείσθαι δυνάμεων ἢ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐπισυνισταμένων καὶ πηγνυμένων ὄγκων διαφοράν, ὁστέων φημὶ καὶ νεύρων καὶ χόνδρων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μυῶν καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ σπλάγχχνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν; 81. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ὑγροῖς ἔτι τοῖς σπέρμασι τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε μὴν τοῖς νηπίοις ἐμφαίνεται τι τῶν τοῖς τελείοις ἐπιγινομένων, ἢ τῇ τῶν τελείων ἡλικίᾳ τὰ τῶν παρηβηκότων, ἢ τούτοις τὰ τῶν γεγηρακότων. 82. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καίτοι τῶν εἰρημένων τινῶν μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως τινῶν δὲ ἀμυδρῶς ἐμφαινόντων τὴν φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιγινομένας μεταβολάς, ὅμως ἴσασιν ὅσοι μὴ τυφλώττουσιν ὑπὸ κακίας ἢ ῥαθυμίας περὶ τὴν τούτων κρίσιν, ὅτι δεῖ πρῶτον μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολήν, διαρθρωθέντων δὲ τούτων καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος καὶ μύριον καὶ προελθόντων εἰς φῶς τῶν κυηθέντων ἐπιγίνεται μὲν ἡ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν αὔξεις, ἢ τε κατ' αὔξησιν τελείωσις, τελειωθέντων δὲ ὕφεις τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων μέχρι γήρως, εἴτα πεποννηκότων τῶν σωμάτων ἡ διάλυσις. 83. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οὔτε τοῦ σπέρματος ἐγγεγραμμένην ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωὴν ἢ μορφήν οὔτε τῆς ζωῆς τὴν εἰς τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς διάλυσιν, ὃ τῶν φυσικῶς γενομένων εἰρμὸς παρέχει τὴν πίστιν τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν φαινομένων ἔχουσι τὸ πιστὸν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας ἀνιχνεύων τὴν ἀλήθειαν πιστοῦται τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀσφα-

λείστερος ὢν καὶ κρείττων τῆς πείρας πρὸς πίστῳσιν ἀληθείας.

XVIII. 84. Τῶν πρώην ἡμῖν εἰς ἐξέτασιν προτεθέντων λόγων καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν πιστουμένων πάντες μὲν εἰσιν ὁμογενεῖς, ὡς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φύντες ἀρχῆς· ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν πρώτων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ δημιουργίας γένεσις· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς κρατύνονται τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυσαν, οἱ δέ, παρεπόμενοι τῇ τε φύσει καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας λαμβάνουσι τὴν πίστιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰτία, καθ' ἣν καὶ δι' ἣν γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, συνεζευγμένη τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ δημιουργίας ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ὃ δὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης λόγος, καθ' ὃν κρίνει Θεὸς τοὺς εὖ ἢ κακῶς βεβιωκότας ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τοῦ τούτων τέλους· φύονται μὲν γὰρ ἐκείθεν, ἡρτῆνται δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς προνοίας. 85. Δεδειγμένων δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν πρώτων ὡς οἷόν τε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑστέρων δεῖξαι τὸ προκείμενον, λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ δικαίαν κρίσιν τιμῆς ἢ δίκης καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τέλους, αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων προτάξαι τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἡγούμενον, καὶ πρώτῳ γε διασκέψασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς κρίσεως λόγον· τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπόντας, φροντίδι τῆς προσηκούσης τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀρχῆς καὶ τάξεως, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ποιητὴν τὸν Θεὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς παραδεξαμένους τῇ τοῦτου σοφίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέναι φυλακὴν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, εἰ γε ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς παραμένειν ἐθέλοιεν, ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τούτων φρονοῦντας μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μίτε τῶν κατὰ γῆν μίτε τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀνεπιτρόπευτον μηδ' ἀπρονόητον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφανὲς ὁμοίως καὶ φαινόμενον, μικρόν τε καὶ μέζον, διήκουσαν γινώσκειν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπιμέλειαν. 86. Δεῖται γὰρ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπιμελείας, ἰδίως δὲ ἕκα-

στον καὶ ὁ πέφυκε καὶ πρὸς ὁ πέφυκεν· ἀχρείου γὰρ οἶμαι φιλοτιμίας τὸ κατάγειν ἢ διαιρεῖν νῦν ἢ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκάστη φύσει καταλέγειν ἐθέλειν. "Ο γε μὴν ἄνθρωπος, περὶ οὗ νῦν πρόκειται λέγειν, ὡς μὲν ἐνδεὴς δεῖται τροφῆς, ὡς δὲ θνητὸς διαδοχῆς, ὡς δὲ λογικὸς δίκης. 87. Εἰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δεῖται μὲν τροφῆς διὰ τὴν ζωὴν, δεῖται δὲ διαδοχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονήν, δεῖται δὲ δίκης διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἔννομον, ἀνάγκη δὴπου, τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ συναμφοτέρον φερομένης, ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρεσθαι καὶ τὴν δίκην, λέγω δὲ συναμφοτέρον τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον γίνεσθαι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόδικον, τὴν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις δέχεσθαι τιμὴν ἢ τιμωρίαν. 88. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου φέρει τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις δίκην ἢ δικαίαν κρίσιν, καὶ μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν μόνην δεῖ κομίσασθαι τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῶν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος εἰργασμένων (ἀπροσπαθῆς γὰρ αὕτη καὶ ἑαυτὴν τῶν περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς ἢ τροφῆς καὶ θεραπείας γινομένων πλημμελημάτων) μήτε τὸ σῶμα μόνον (ἄκριτον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἑαυτὸ νόμου καὶ δίκης), ὁ δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ δέχεται κρίσιν, τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε κατὰ τὴνδε τὴν ζωὴν εὐρίσκει συμβαῖνον ὁ λόγος (οὐ γὰρ σώζεται τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐν τῇ παρόντι βίῳ, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀξίους καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ κακίαν ἐπιτηδεύοντας μέχρι τελευτῆς διατελεῖν κακῶν ἀπειράτους, καὶ τοῦναντίον τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐξητασμένους τὰν ἑαυτῶν βίον ἐπιδειξαμένους ἐν ὁδύναις ζῆν, ἐν ἐπηρείαις, ἐν συκοφαντίαις, αἰκίαις τε καὶ παντοίαις κακοπαθείαις) οὔτε δὲ μετὰ θάνατον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔτι τὸ συναμφοτέρον, χωριζομένης μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, σκεδαννυμένου δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἐξ ὧν συνεφορήθη, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σώζοντος τῆς

προτέρας φύης ἢ μορφῆς, ἢ πού γε τὴν μνήμην τῶν πεπραγμένων), εὐδηλον παντὶ τὸ λειπούμενον, ὅτι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο καὶ σκεδαστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, ἵνα, ζωοποιηθέντων ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρωθέντων καὶ πάλιν ἐνωθέντων τῶν κεχωρισμένων ἢ καὶ πάντῃ διαλελυμένων, ἕκαστος κομίσηται δικαίως ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε κακά.

XIX. 89. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμῖν παραδεξαμένους ἀρχάς, εἴτα τῶν οἰκείων ὑποθέσεων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκπίπτοντας, τοιοῦτοις χρῆσται' ἂν τις λόγοις καὶ πολλῇ πλείοσι τούτων, εἴ γε πλατύνειν ἐθέλοι τὰ συντόμως καὶ κατ' ἐπιδρομὴν εἰρημένα. 90. Πρὸς δέ γε τοὺς περὶ τῶν πρώτων διαφερομένους ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ἐτέραν ὑποθέσθαι πρὸ τούτων ἀρχήν, συνδιαποροῦντας αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν δοξάζουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα συνδιασκεπτομένους, ἄρά γε πάντῃ κατὰ πάξ ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρῶπται ζωὴ καὶ σύμπας ὁ βίος, ζῆλος δέ τις βαθεὺς κατακέχυται τῆς γῆς, ἀγνοία καὶ σιγὴ κρύπτειν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς τούτων πράξεις, ἢ πολὺ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ δοξάζειν ὅτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποιήμασιν ἐφέστηκεν ὁ ποιήσας, πάντων τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων ἢ γινομένων ἔφορος, ἔργων τε καὶ βουλευμάτων κριτής. 91. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μηδεμία μῆδαμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώποις πεπραγμένων γίνοιτο κρίσις, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι πλεῖον τῶν ἀλόγων ἄνθρωποι· μᾶλλον δὲ κακείνων πράξουσιν ἀθλιώτερον, οἱ τὰ πάθῃ δουλαγωγοῦντες καὶ φροντίζοντες εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ὁ δὲ κτηνώδης βίος ἄριστος, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀνόητος, δίκης ἐξ ἀπειλῇ γέλως πλατύνει, τὸ δὲ πᾶσαν θεραπεύειν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν τὸ μέγιστον, δόγμα δὲ κοινὸν τούτων ἀπάντων καὶ νόμος εἰς τὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις καὶ λάγνοις φίλον Φάγωμεν καὶ πίνωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποσνήσκομεν. Τοῦ γὰρ τοιοῦτου βίου τέλος οὐδὲ ἡδονή

κατὰ τινας, ἀλλ' ἀναισθησία παντελής. 92. Εἰ δέ ἐστί τις τῷ ποιήσαντι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων φροντίς καὶ σώζεται πού τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς βεβιωμένων ἢ διακρίσις, ἥτοι κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον, ζώντων ἐτι τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν βεβιωκότων, ἢ μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν χωρισμῷ καὶ διαλύσει τυγχανόντων. Ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐδέτερον τῶν εἰρημένων εὐρεῖν δυνατόν σωζομένην τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ σπουδαῖοι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν φέρονται τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπίχειρα, οὔτε μὴν οἱ φαῦλοι τὰ τῆς κακίας. 93. Παρίημι γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι, σωζομένης τῆς φύσεως ἐν ᾗ νῦν ἐσμεν, οὐδ' ἡ θνητὴ φύσις ἐνεγκεῖν οἷα τε τὴν σύμμετρον δίκην πλειόνων ἢ βαρυτέρων φερομένων πλημμελημάτων. Ὁ τε γὰρ μυρίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἀνελὼν ἀδίκως ληστὴς ἢ δυνάστης ἢ τύραννος οὐκ ἂν ἐνὶ θανάτῳ λύσειε τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις δίκην· ὁ τε μηδὲν περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζων ἀληθές, ὕβρει δὲ πάσῃ καὶ βλασφημίᾳ συζών, καὶ παρορῶν μὲν τὰ θεῖα, καταλύων δὲ νόμους, ὑβρίσας δὲ παῖδας ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας, κατασκάψας δὲ πόλεις ἀδίκως, ἐμπήσας δὲ οἴκους μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ δηϊώσας χώραν, καὶ τούτοις συναφανίσας δήμους καὶ λαοὺς ἢ καὶ σύμπαν ἔθνος, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ σώματι πρὸς τὴν τούτοις σύμμετρον ἀρκέσειε δίκην, προλαμβάνοντος τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν τι τῶν εἰργασμένων τῆς θνητῆς ἐξαρκούσης φύσεως; Οὐτ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν δέικνται κρίσις οὔτε μετὰ θάνατον.

XX. 94. Ἦτοι γὰρ παντελής ἐστι σβέσις τῆς ζωῆς ὁ θάνατος, συνδιαλυομένης τῷ σώματι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ συνδιαφθειρομένης, ἢ μένει μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἄλυστος ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀσκέδαστος, ἀδιάφθορος, φθείρεται δὲ καὶ διαλύεται τὸ σῶμα, οὐδεμίαν ἐτι σῶζον οὔτε μνήμην τῶν εἰργασμένων οὐτ' αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐκ' αὐτῇ παθημάτων. 95. Σβεπνυμένης μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς, οὐδεμία φανήσε-

ται τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ ζώντων φροντίς, οὐ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν βεβιωκότων ἡ κρίσις, ἐπεισκευληθήσεται δὲ πάλιν τὰ τῆς ἀνόμου ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ συνεπομένων ἀτόπων τὸ σμῆνος, τό τε τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης κεφάλαιον ἀξιοσύνης. 96. Εἰ δὲ φερέριτο μὲν τὸ σῶμα καὶ χωροίη πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς τῶν λελυμένων ἕκαστον, μέναι δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ κατ' ἑαυτὴν ὡς ἄφθαρτος, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔξει χώραν ἢ κατ' αὐτῆς κρίσις, μὴ προσούσης δικαιοσύνης· ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ γίνεσθαι τινα κρίσιν, ἣ μὴ πρόσσεστι τὸ δίκαιον. 97. Οὐ πρόσσεστι δὲ τῇ κρίσει τὸ δίκαιον, μὴ σωζομένου τοῦ διαπραξαμένου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἢ τὴν ἀνομίαν· ὁ γὰρ διαπραξάμενος ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐφ' οἷς ἡ κρίσις ἀνθρωπος ἦν, οὐ ψυχὴ κατ' ἑαυτήν. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐπ' οὐδενὸς φυλάξει τὸ δίκαιον.

XXI. 98. Κατορθωμάτων τε γὰρ τιμωμένων, ἀδικηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα σαφῶς ἐκ τοῦ κοινωνῆσαι μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σπουδαζομένοις πόνων, μὴ κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωθεῖσι τιμῆς, καὶ συγγνώμης μὲν τυγχάνειν πολλάκις τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τινων πλημμελημάτων διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔνδειαν τε καὶ χρείαν, ἐκπίπτειν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωθεῖσι κοινωνίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ συνδιήνεγκε πόνους. 99. Καὶ μὴν καὶ πλημμελημάτων κρινομένων οὐ σώζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ δίκαιον, εἴ γε μόνη τίνει δίκην ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνοχλοῦντος τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ὁρέξεις ἢ κινήσεις ἔλκοντος ἐπλημμέλησεν, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ συναρπαγὴν καὶ κλοπὴν, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τινα βιαιοτέραν ὕλκην, ἄλλοτε δὲ κατὰ συνδρομὴν ἐν χάριτος μέρει καὶ θεραπείας τῆς τούτου συστάσεως. 100. Ἡ πῶς οὐκ ἄδικον τὴν ψυχὴν κρίνεσθαι κατ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἔχει κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν οὐκ ὀρεξιν, οὐ κίνησιν, οὐχ ὁρμὴν, οἷον λαγνείας ἢ βίας ἢ πλεονεξίας ἢ

ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδικημάτων ; 101. Εἰ γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τοιούτων γίνεται κακῶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατακρατεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων παθῶν, ἐνοχλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείας καὶ χρείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦτο σπουδῆς καὶ θεραπείας (τούτων γὰρ ἕνεκεν πᾶσα ἡ κτῆσις καὶ πρὸ ταύτης ἡ χρῆσις, ἔτι δὲ γάμος καὶ ὕσαι κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεις, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ θεωρεῖται τό τε πλημμελὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον), ποῦ δίκαιον, ἐν οἷς πρωτοπαθεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔλκει πρὸς συμπάθειαν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἐφ' ἃ δεῖται πράξεων, αὐτὴν κρίνεσθαι μόνην, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀρέξεις καὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, ἔτι δὲ φόβους καὶ λύπας, ἐφ' ὧν πᾶν τὸ μὴ μέτριον ὑπόδικον, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν τὴν κίνησιν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι μόνην, τὴν μήτε δεομένην τοιοῦτου τινὸς μήτε ὀρεγομένην μήτε φοβουμένην ἢ πάσχουσάν τι τοιοῦτον καθ' ἑαυτὴν οἷον πάσχειν πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος ; 102. Ἀλλὰ κἂν μὴ μόνου τοῦ σώματος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ θῶμεν εἶναι τὰ πάθη, λέγοντες ὁρθῶς διὰ τὸ μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι τὴν τούτου ζωὴν, οὐ δῆπου γε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα προσήκειν φήσομεν, ὅποταν καθαρῶς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῶμεν φύσιν. 103. Εἰ γὰρ πάσης κατὰ πάξ τροφῆς ἐστὶν ἀνενδεής, οὐκ ἂν ὀρεχθεῖη ποτὲ τούτων ὧν οὐδαμῶς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, οὔτ' ἂν ὀρμήσειεν ἐπὶ τι τούτων οἷς μὴδ' ὅλως χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν λυπηθεῖη δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων. 104. Εἰ δὲ καὶ φθορᾶς ἐστὶ κρείττων, οὐδὲν φοβεῖται τὸ παράπαν ὡς φθαρτικὸν ἑαυτῆς· οὐ γὰρ δέδοικεν οὐ λιμόν, οὐ νόσον οὐ πῆρωσιν οὐ λώβην οὐ πῦρ οὐ σίδηρον, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ παθεῖν ἐκ τούτων δύναται τι βλαβερόν οὔτ' ἀλγεινόν, οὐχ ἀπτομένων αὐτῆς τὸ παράπαν οὔτε σωματῶν οὔτε σωματικῶν δυνάμεων. 105. Εἰ δὲ τὸ τὰ πάθη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἰδιαζόντως προσάπτειν ἄτοπον, τὸ τὰς ἐκ τού-

των ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις τιμωρίας ἐπὶ μόνας φέρειν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπερβαλλύντως ἄδικον καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσεως ἀνάξιον.

XXII. 106. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν μὴδὲ νοηθῆναι δύνασθαι χωρὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς (ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἀρετὰς εἶναι γινώσκομεν τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥσπεροῦν καὶ τὴν ταύταις ἀντικειμένην κακίαν οὐ ψυχῆς κεχωρισμένης τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατ' ἐαυτὴν οὐσης), τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τιμὴν ἢ τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ μόνῃς φέρεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς; 107. Ἡ πῶς ἂν τις καὶ νοήσειεν ἐπὶ ψυχῆς μόνῃς ἀνδρείαν ἢ καρτερίαν, οὐκ ἐχούσης οὐ θανάτου φόβον, οὐ τραύματος οὐ πηρώσεως οὐ ζημίας οὐκ αἰκίας, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀλγημάτων ἢ τῆς ἐκ τούτων κακοπαθείας; 108. Πῶς δὲ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, οὐδεμίας ἐλκούσης αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τροφὴν ἢ μῖξιν ἢ τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονάς τε καὶ τέρψεις, οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς οὐτ' ἔσωθεν ἐνοχλοῦντος οὐτ' ἔξωθεν ἐρεθίζοντος; 109. Πῶς δὲ φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ πρακτέων καὶ μὴ πρακτέων, οὐθ' αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδεμίας ἐνούσης αὐτῇ κινήσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ φυσικῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ τι τῶν πρακτέων; 110. Ποῦ δὲ ὅλως ψυχαῖς ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλας δικαιοσύνη προσφυῆς ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἢ ἑτερογενῶν, οὐκ ἐχούσαις οὔτε πόθεν οὔτε δι' ὧν οὔτε πῶς ἀπονεύμωσι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, ἐξηρημένης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν τιμῆς, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐχούσαις ὁρμὴν ἢ κίνησιν πρὸς χρῆσιν ἰδίων ἢ πρὸς ἀποχὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, τῆς μὲν χρήσεως τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἢ τῆς ἀποχῆς ἐπὶ τῶν χρῆσθαι πεφυκótων θεωρουμένης, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς μίτῃ δεομένης τινὸς μίτῃ χρῆσθαί τισιν ἢ τινι πεφυκυίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μίτῃ τῆς λεγομένης ἰδιοπραγίας τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὕτως ἐχούσης ψυχῆς εὔρεθῆναι δυναμένης;

XXIII. 111. Καὶ μὴν κάκεινο πάντων παραλογώτατον,

τὸ τοὺς μὲν θεσπισθέντας νόμους ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, τῶν δὲ νομίμως ἢ παρανόμως πεπραγμένων τὴν δίκην ἐπὶ μόνας τρέπειν τὰς ψυχὰς. 112. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς νόμους δεξάμενος οὗτος δέξαιτ' ἂν δικαίως καὶ τῆς παρανομίας τὴν δίκην, ἰδέξατο δὲ τοὺς νόμους ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν, ἄνθρωπον δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑποσχεῖν δίκην, οὐ ψυχὴν καθ' ἑαυτήν· ἐπεὶ μὴ ψυχαῖς ἐδέσπισε θεὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς προσηκόντων, οἷον μοιχείας φύνου κλοπῆς ἄρπαγῆς τῆς κατὰ τῶν γεννησάντων ἀτιμίας, πάσης τε κοινῶς τῆς ἐπ' ἀδικίᾳ καὶ βλάβῃ τῶν πέλας γινομένης ἐπιθυμίας. 113. Οὐτε γὰρ τὸ τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου ψυχαῖς μόνον εὐάρμοστον, οὐ προσηκόντων αὐταῖς τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων· οὐ γὰρ ψυχαὶ ψυχὰς γεννῶσαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τῆς μητέρος οἰκιοῦνται προσηγορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἄνθρωποι· οὐτε οὖν τὸ οὐ μοιχεύσεις ἐπὶ ψυχῶν λεχθεῖν ποτ' ἂν ἡ νοηθεῖη δεόντως, οὐκ οὔσης ἐν αὐταῖς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ διαφορᾶς οὐδὲ πρὸς μῆξιν τινος ἐπιτηδεϊότητος ἢ πρὸς ταύτην ὀρέξεως. 114. Ὅρέξεως δὲ τοιαύτης οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ μῆξιν εἶναι δυνατόν· παρ' οἷς δὲ μῆξις οὐκ ἔστιν ὕλως, οὐδὲ ἔνθεσμος· μῆξις, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁ γάμος· ἐννόμου δὲ μίξεως οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ τὴν παράνομον καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίᾳ γυναικὶ γινομένην ὀρεξιν ἢ μῆξιν εἶναι δυνατόν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι μοιχεία. 115. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ κλοπὴν ἀπαγορεύειν ἢ τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν ψυχαῖς προσφυές· οὐδὲ γὰρ δεόνται τούτων, ὧν οἱ δεόμενοι διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἔνδειαν ἢ χρείαν κλέπτειν ἐιώθασιν ἢ ληστεύειν, οἷον χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ἢ ζῶον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸς τροφήν ἢ σκέπην ἢ χρῆσιν ἐπιτηδείων· ἀχρεῖον γὰρ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει πᾶν ὑπόσον τοῖς ἐνδεέσιν ὀρεκτὸν ὡς χρήσιμον. 116. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐντελέστερος περὶ τούτων λόγος ἀφείσθω τοῖς σπουδαιότερον ἕκαστον σκοπεῖν βουλομένοις ἢ φιλοτιμότερον διαγωνίζε-

δαι πρὸς τοὺς διαφερομένους. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρκούντων τῶν ἀρτίως εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν συμφώνως τούτοις τὴν ἀνάστασιν πιστουμένων, τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρίβειν οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν ἔχοι καιρόν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν πεποιήμεθα σκοπόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλαιωδῶς ὑποδείξαι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἃ χρὴ περὶ ἀναστάσεως φρονεῖν, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν παρόντων συμμετρηῆσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο φερούσας ἀφορμάς.

XXIV. 117. Ἐξητασμένων δὲ ποσῶς τῶν προτεθέντων ὑπόλοιπον ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους διασκέψασθαι λόγον, ἥδη μὲν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐμφαινόμενον, τοσαύτης δὲ μόνον ἐπιστάσεως καὶ προσθήκης δεόμενον, ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν τι τῶν μικρῶς ἡμῖν εἰρημένων ἀμνημόνευτον καταλιπεῖν καὶ παραβλάψαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένην διαίρεσιν. 118. Τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκεν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγκεισόμενων καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον ἐπισημῆσθαι μόνον, ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐκ φύσεως συνισταμένων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνην γινομένων οἰκεῖον ἐκάστου τέλος εἶναι, τοῦτό που καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἐννοίας ἐκδιδασκούσης ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς στρεφόμενων ἐπιμαρτυρούντων. 119. Ἡ γὰρ οὐ θεωροῦμεν ἕτερόν τι τοῖς γεωργοῦσιν; ἕτερον δὲ τοῖς ἰατροῦουσιν ὑποκείμενον τέλος, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλο μὲν τι τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων, ἄλλο δὲ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τρεφόμενων ζώων καὶ κατὰ τινα φυσικὸν εἶρμόν γεννωμένων; 120. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐναργὲς καὶ δεῖ πάντως ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἢ τεχνικαῖς δυνάμεισι καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τούτων ἐνεργείαις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔπεσθαι τέλος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τέλος, ὥς ἰδιαζούσης ὃν φύσεως, ἐξηρησθαι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κοινότητος· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ταῦτόν ὑποδέσθαι τέλος τῶν τε λογικῆς κρίσεως ἀμοιρούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἔμφυτον νόμον καὶ λόγον ἐνεργούντων, ἔμφρονί τε ζωῇ καὶ δίκῃ χρωμένων. 121. Οὐτ' οὖν τὸ ἄλυπον οἰκεῖον τούτοις ἂν

εἴη τέλος, μετεῖη γὰρ ἂν τούτου καὶ τοῖς παντελῶς ἀναισθητοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τὸ σῶμα τρεφόντων ἢ τερπόντων ἀπόλαυσις καὶ πληθὺς ἡδονῶν· ἢ πρωτεύειν ἀνάγκη τὸν κτηνώδη βίον, ἀτελὴ δὲ εἶναι τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν. Κτηνῶν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ βοσκημάτων οἰκεῖον τοῦτο τέλος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτῳ ψυχῇ καὶ λογικῇ κρίσει χρωμένων.

XXV. 122. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μακαριότης ψυχῆς κεχωρισμένης σώματος· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν Σατέρου τούτων ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἄνθρωπος ἐσκοποῦμεν ζωὴν ἢ τέλος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνεστώτος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· τοιοῦτος γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τόνδε τὸν βίον λαχὼν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ δεῖ τῆς τούτου ζωῆς εἶναι τι τέλος οἰκεῖον. 123. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου τὸ τέλος, τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε ζώντων αὐτῶν ἔτι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον εὐρεθῆναι δυνατόν διὰ τὰς πολλάκις ἤδη ῥηθείσας αἰτίας, οὔτε μὴν ἐν χωρισμῷ τυγχανούσης τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ μὴδὲ συνεστάναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον διαλυθέντος ἢ καὶ πάντῃ σκεδασθέντος τοῦ σώματος, κἂν ἡ ψυχὴ διαμένῃ κατ' ἑαυτήν, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου σύστασιν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φανῆναι τέλος. 124. Τούτου δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένου, δεῖ πάντως γενέσθαι τῶν νεκρωθέντων ἢ καὶ πάντῃ διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι πάλιν· ἐπειδὴ γε τὸ μὲν τέλος οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, ὁ τῆς φύσεως τίθεται νόμος, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατὰ τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ζωὴν βεβιωκότων, τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι πάλιν ἀμήχανον, μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων ταῖς αὐταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀποδοθέντων. 125. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ σῶμα τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἄλλως μὲν ἀδύνατον, κατὰ μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν δυνατόν· ταύτης γὰρ γενομένης καὶ τὸ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόσφορον ἐπακολουθεῖ τέλος. 126. Τέλος δὲ ζωῆς ἔμφρονος καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὸ τούτοις ἀπερισπάστως συν-

δαιωνίζειν οἷς μάλιστα καὶ πρώτως ὁ φυσικὸς συνήρμωσται
λόγος, τῇ τε θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δεδογμένων
ἀπαύστως ἐπαγάλλεσθαι· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐμπαθέστερον καὶ σφοδρύτερον τοῖς τῇδε προσπιπονδύτις
ἄστοχοι τούτου διατελῶσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀκυροῖ τὴν κοινὴν
ἀποκλήρωσιν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποπιπτόντων τοῦ προσήκον-
τος αὐτοῖς τέλους, ἰδιαζούσης τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξετάσεως
καὶ τῆς ἐκάστῃ συμμετρομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς βε-
βιωμένων τιμῆς ἢ δίκης.

THE LIFE OF ATHENAGORAS,

AND

AN ESSAY ON

HIS STYLE AND DICTION.

THE LIFE OF ATHENAGORAS.

THERE have been found in the ancient writers only two passages in which Athenagoras is mentioned. One is from Philip of Side (A.D. 425), preserved in a fragment of Nicephorus Callistus (A.D. 1327), and reads thus:

“Καί φησι Φίλιππος ὁ Σιδητῆς ἐν λόγῳ κδ'. Τοῦ διδασκαλείου τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀθηναγόρας πρῶτος ἡγήσατο, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἀκμάσας Ἀδριανοῦ, καὶ Ἀντωνίνου, οἷς καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν πρεσβευτικὸν προσεφώνησεν ἄνθρωπος ἐν αὐτῷ χριστιανίσας τῷ τρίβωνι καὶ τῆς Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς σχολῆς προϊστάμενος. Οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ Κέλσου κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γράψαι προθυμηθεὶς, ἐντυχὼν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστερον ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὕτως εἴλετο τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι, ὥστε διδάσκαλον κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον ἀντὶ διώκτου γενέσθαι τῆς πίστεως ἧς ἐδίωκεν. Τούτου μαθητὴν γενέσθαι φησὶν ὁ Φίλιππος τὸν Στρωματία Κλήμεντα, καὶ Πάνταινον τοῦ Κλήμεντος.”

“And says Philip of Side in Section XXIV.: Of the school at Alexandria Athenagoras first was head, flourishing in the times of Hadrian and Antonine, to whom also he addressed the Plea for Christians; a man acting the Christian in the cloak of the philosopher, and leading the Academic school. He, before Celsus, purposing to write against the Christians, taking up the divine Scriptures to confute with more precision, was so taken by the Holy Spirit as, like the great Paul, to become a disciple instead of a persecutor of the faith which he persecuted. His disciple, says Philip, was Clement, the author of the Miscellanies, and Pantaenus was a disciple of Clement.”

The second passage is from Methodius, Bishop of Tyre and martyr (A.D. 312), in his book concerning the Resurrection, and consists of a statement of the opinions of Athenagoras about Satan and the angels, as expressed in chapter xxiv. of the Plea. It is introduced by the expression—

Καθάπερ ἐλέχθη τῷ Ἀθηναγόρᾳ,

and that is all. This passage is preserved in Epiphanius (Haer., lxiv.) and Photius (Biblioth., cccxxiv.), and is found in the works of Methodius, De Resur., vii.

Socrates (Hist. Eccl., xvii., 27) and Photius (Biblioth. Cod., xxxv.) both speak slightly of the authority of the Christian History of Philip of Side; and it is plain that the passage on Athenagoras must be received with caution, since the statement that the Plea was addressed to Hadrian and Antonine is contradicted by the Plea itself. The statement that he was the first head of the Christian school at Alexandria is contradicted by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., v., 10), who speaks of the school as having been there from old times—long before the headship of Pantaenus. He also speaks of Clement as having been the disciple of Pantaenus (Hist. Eccl., v., xi.), as does Clement himself (Strom., i., 271) as well as Photius (Biblioth. Cod., cix.); and though Eusebius dwells at length on the school at Alexandria, he nowhere mentions Athenagoras. It must, therefore, be regarded as doubtful whether Athenagoras was ever head of that school.

From his own works we learn that he was an Athenian of the times of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180 (i., caption); that he was carefully educated, fond of the study of literature, logic, and philosophy: there are twenty quotations or references to Homer and ten to Plato in the forty pages of his Plea. In the year 177 he was a Christian, though still styling himself a philosopher and an Athenian; and

he had arrived at such eminence as to address himself to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus as the representative of the Christians of the world. Internal evidence, which may be seen at length in the Notes on pages 103, 104, fixes the date of this address. That it is a real plea, and not an academic exercise, is strongly evidenced by the art used to conciliate the emperors—heaping praises on them with full hands, passing in silence the causes of complaint which the Christians had against them, representing themselves as needing only the imperial attention, and protesting the strongest loyalty to the imperial house (iv., xxxvii.). He had at this time carefully studied Justin Martyr, as is shown by the resemblance between many passages of their Apologies, as is often pointed out in the Notes (ii., iii., xii., xxiv., etc.). He had also planned, if not composed, his treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead, as appears by ch. xxxvi.: *Ἄλλ' ἀνακείσθω μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος*, Let the discussion of the resurrection be deferred.

From the discourse on the Resurrection it appears that it was written to be read to an audience (see ch. xxiii., 116), and it is evidently intended mainly for an answer to serious-minded philosophers; it does not dwell in detail on Biblical statements. In ch. i., 8, he speaks of himself as used to public discourses. On the whole, it seems probable that the story of Philip of Side of his eminence among the Academic philosophers, and of his conversion to Christianity, is in substance true.

On the traits of character which are revealed by his style, some remarks are made in the next essay.

It is generally believed that Athenagoras composed many works, but only two remain, even in their titles. Excellent manuscripts of these are preserved. Otto enumerates eight, containing both. The oldest and best, the

foundation of our text, was written A.D. 914 by Baan, notary of Aretas, archbishop of Caesarea, and is in the imperial library at Paris. Otto describes twelve more MSS. of the Plea, and six more of the Resurrection.

The treatise of the Resurrection was printed first. A Latin translation by Georgius Valla was printed at Venice in 1498. The Greek, with a Latin translation, was printed at Paris in 1541, Petrus Nannius being the editor; reprinted in 1550, 1555. Three editions of the Plea followed—Greek and Latin, by Conrad Gesner, Zurich, 1557, and Basle, 1558; Latin, by Joannes Langus, Basle, 1565; by Suffridus Petrus, Cologne, 1567; and these have been followed by many editions and commentaries in Italy, France, Germany, and England, of which the editions of Dechair, Lindner, Maran, and Otto are the most valuable. There are three English translations—one by Richard Porder, 1573; one by David Humphreys, 1714; one in the Ante-Nicene Library, 1867.

A French romance, *Du vrai et parfait Amour*, etc., Paris, 1599, purporting to be a translation from Athenagoras, is a forgery.

The estimate of Athenagoras has grown with years. Schoell, in his *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque Profane*, introduces him among the New Platonists, and declares his work on the Resurrection to be "a prodigy," and that "no work of any other Christian writer of that age can be compared with it." Ebert, in his recently published *History of Christian Latin Literature* (Leipsic, 1874), recognizes his influence in the early Latin. The editors of the Ante-Nicene Library say: "It is one of the most singular facts in early ecclesiastical history that the name of Athenagoras is scarcely ever mentioned. . . . He is by far the most elegant, and certainly at the same time one of the ablest, of the early Christian Apologists."

THE STYLE AND DICTION OF ATHENAGORAS.

ATHENAGORAS has been much admired for the elegance, purity, and force of his style. Probably more than any other writer after the first century, he conforms to the best models of the earlier Greek. Christian writers often show the influence of the Septuagint and New Testament in imitations of the Hebrew idiom or the Greek of Alexandria and Syria. Sophists and rhetoricians arose in great numbers as an after-growth from Grecian philosophy and eloquence; many seem to do their utmost to reverse the dictum of Cicero, "*Eloquentia non ex artificio sed artificium ex eloquentia natum.*" We find abundant traces of their influence in the style of the later writers, in their bold inversions of the syntax, in their resorting for emphasis and effect to arbitrary and striking collocations. But the Greek of Athenagoras is as free from either blemish as is that of Plato or Demosthenes. He quotes the Bible sometimes, but he knows how to express its thoughts in choice Athenian diction. He shows the results of careful logical and rhetorical culture by his skill in disputation; but he is so far from being bound by the forms and rules of dialectics that he can hold the art in contempt (xi., 47), and can rise above its prescribed methods, as he frequently does in passages that have the warmth and glow of genuine eloquence—passages that

show the fervent Christian heart, and the sincere inward conviction of Christian truth, as well as mastery of the language in which he wrote.

Like Aristides the Athenian, and Ilermias, and Justin Martyr, Athenagoras kept the name and the cloak of a philosopher.¹ His writings every where show that he preferred the Platonic philosophy. This had been the basis of his culture and formed his habits of thought, and in him more plainly than in any other of the earliest Christian writers is exhibited its influence on the forms of Christian doctrine.² Athenagoras used philosophy for the right understanding of divinely revealed truth, and in turn brought the light of revelation to correct and enlarge the opinions of philosophers (vii., ix., xxiv. ; De Res., xviii.). He seems to be thoroughly acquainted not only with philosophy, but with the works of the old poets and historians, and especially with the Holy Scriptures. Indeed, he excels among the Apologists of the second century in the amplitude of his culture and in philosophical acumen, as well as in the clearness, force, and purity of his style.

Otto, speaking more particularly of the qualities of his style, mentions and illustrates his perspicuity (Prolegom., p. L.). He first introduces his subject in brief outline, then enlarges, then confirms with suitable arguments. The sense, if not caught by the student at the first reading of the text, will afterward appear so clear and unmistakable that he will wonder that he ever had difficulty in understanding it.

Athenagoras rarely uses very long periods. Examples

¹ "Ἀθηναγόρας . . . ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτῷ χριστιανιστὰς τῷ τριβῶνι."—Philippus Sideses.

² H. Ritter, "Geschichte der Christlichen Philosophie," Part I., p. 322. (Hamburg, 1841.)

are: ch. xii., 51, Εἰθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν βίον, κ. τ. λ.; xx., 85, Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διατεθείκασιν, κ. τ. λ.; De Res., xviii., 89, Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου φέροι, κ. τ. λ. He rarely follows unusual significations of words or novel phrases: as, μεγάλοι βασιλέων, for μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς or μέγιστοι βασιλέων (i., 1). A few words are used with a new and higher Christian meaning. ὁ λόγος signifies religion or doctrine frequently, as ii., iv., ix., xi., etc.; but ὁ παρὰ Θεοῦ λόγος, *the divine logos*, x., 38, etc. The emperors are spoken of as ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ παιδείας πάσης ὁρμώμενοι, ii., 8; ἡ χροία τοῦ κόσμου, occurs iv., 16; κρατεῖν Θεόν=deum tenere, vi., 24; διαφεῖν and τέμνειν=distinguere, xxiii., 108, 109; τὰ ἐπισυμβεβηκότα Θεῷ, are the attributes of God, xxiii., 112; συγκεχωσμένη, the goodness of God, xxiv.; and some other phrases, such as ἀποκτείνειν πρόβριζόν τινα, iii.; τὸ Θεολογικὸν μέρος, x., etc.

He rarely employs words not in common use, or such as came into use only in the later periods of the Greek language: such, for example, as ἐναποσφραγίζεσθαι, xxvii.; εὐνουχία, xxxiii.; Θεοδιδάκτος, xi., xxxii.; Θεόφατος, xi.; συγκαταπίπτειν, xxxi.; συναποφέρειν, ii.; συνεκφωνεῖν, xxii.; τηνάλλως, xvi. Among which also may be mentioned, Ἰρακλειωτικός, xx.; ἰνδαλματώδης, xxvii.; κατασκευάζειν, i.; κοροπλαδική, xvii.; παραθολοῦν, xxxii.; προσπηλακίζειν, i.; ὑποδιαλλάσσειν, xx.

He excels also in force. His argument gathers strength as he advances. The logical order of thought is carefully observed, especially in the treatise on the Resurrection, a subject susceptible of a more consecutive and strictly logical treatment than the Plea.

Every where his own sincerity and profound conviction of the truth appears, and he brings to his aid in enforcing it his rhetorical skill in the use of language as well as his knowledge of the subjects. Sarcasm and

irony occur not unfrequently, and are used with great effect. See xxxiv., 164, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι σαρκῶν ἄπτεισθαι ἀνθρωπικῶν; xxi., 92, Ἡ γὰρ Θεοί, καὶ οὐχ ἄψεται αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμία. Rhetorical questions occur often. Sometimes a strong period is thus brought to a climax at the close, the whole force of the inevitable conclusion being thrown upon the hearer or reader in the form of a question from which there is no escape. See xx., 87, Τί τὸ σεμνὸν ἢ χρηστὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ἱστορίας, ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν Θεοὺς εἶναι τὸν Κρόνον, τὸν Δία, τὴν Κόρην, τοὺς λοιπούς; Αἱ διαθέσεις τῶν σωμάτων; Καὶ τίς ἂν ἄνθρωπος κεκριμένος καὶ ἐν θεωρίᾳ γεγονώς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεννηθῆναι πιστεύσαι ἔχιδναν.

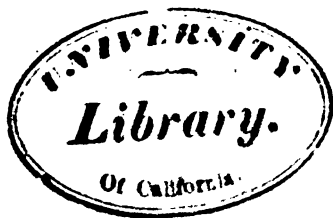
Proverbs also are aptly quoted; see xxxix., ἡ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα.

Nor is Athenagoras without elegance, and those qualities of style which please and win the favorable attention of the reader. There are stirring descriptions, as De Res., xix., 94, ὃ τε μηδὲν περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζων ἀληθές, κ. τ. λ.; apt comparisons and similes, as when the emperors, who may know that the Christians are innocent without a complete exposition of their belief and manner of life, are compared to him who tests honey and whey by samples, xii., 52; see also xvi., 63; xv.; xxii., 104 sq.; De Res., i., 7. Antitheses, as i., 2, Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσους ἄξια, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀδίκημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας. He does not reproach the emperors, or speak bitterly against them, as Justin Martyr does,¹ but addresses them kindly, using judicious compliment and praise: i., 3, Διόπερ τὸ πρᾶον ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμερον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα εἰρηνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θαυμάζοντες, κ. τ. λ. He applies to them most honorable titles: ii., 6, μεγίστων καὶ φιλανθρώπων καὶ φιλομαθεσάτων βασιλέων; vii., 29, συνέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ ὄντως Θεῖον εὐσε-

¹ Justin Martyr, Apol. I., 2.

βεία τοὺς ἄλλους προύχοντες; xxxvi., 172, πάντα ἐν πᾶσι φύσει καὶ παιδείᾳ χρηστοὶ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιοι. Nor does he think it necessary to pursue his argument minutely, as they, being learned, might anticipate him: ii., 8, ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, κ.τ.λ. οἶδα γὰρ, he says (vi., 22), ὅτι ὅσον συνέσει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βασιλείας πάντων ὑπερέχετε τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἀκριβοῦν πάντων κρατεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ ἕκαστον παιδείας μέρος κατορθοῦντες ὥς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῆς μόνον ἀποτεμνόμενοι. See also ix., xi., xvii., xxii., xxiii., xxiv.

ANALYSES AND NOTES.



ANALYSIS OF THE PLEA.

(Orto, pp. liii.-lvii.)

ATHENAGORAS, in the opening chapter of his plea, presented to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus, A.D. 177, complains that under just emperors the Christians do not enjoy the same liberty in their worship of God that others enjoy in the observance of absurd superstitions (C. I.); nor in their innocent practices the same rights of justice that are accorded to others charged with the gravest crimes (C. II.).

Three crimes are charged against the Christians, viz.: Atheism, Oedipodean intercourse (incest), and Thyestean feasts (eating human flesh) (C. III.).

I. He proves that the Christians are falsely accused of atheism from their belief in the one true God (C. IV.); and since the poets have expressed the same belief (C. V.), and also the philosophers (C. VI.), and have not been accused of atheism, much less should the Christians be branded with this crime who have sought God, not as the poets and philosophers vainly, through mere human research, but from the utterances of the Holy Spirit (C. VII.). This doctrine is confirmed by the absurdities of polytheism (C. VIII.), and by the testimony of the prophets (C. IX.). Hence, he concludes, it appears evident that the Christians are not atheists. It seems even more clear from the fact that they worship, with the Father, also the Son and the Holy Spirit; that they recognize angels

(C. X.). But their moral teachings and practices also prove that they reverently believe in God (C. XI.), to whom at last an account must be rendered (C. XII.).

Having proved in this general way that the Christians are not atheists, he now proceeds to answer particular charges which their enemies urge against them in proof of their atheism.

They are charged with not sacrificing to the gods of the nations, and with not reverencing them. In answer to this, Athenagoras shows, first, that the true God does not need these sacrifices; that a reasonable service alone is acceptable to him (C. XIII.). Again, that the nations themselves do not agree in the worship of the gods—some worshipping some, others others (C. XIV.). But if they should agree in these superstitions, there would be no advantage to these gods from the worship of material images. The Christians deserve credit especially in this, that they distinguish the Creator from matter (C. XV.), and do not worship the universe, or parts of the universe, or the works of man (C. XVI.), or gods whose names and forms are recent inventions (C. XVII.). But some may object that the worship offered to idols is to be referred to the gods themselves. He answers that the poets (C. XVIII.) and philosophers (C. XIX.) agree that the gods were created; therefore they are not to be worshipped. He argues the same from their absurd forms and disgusting deeds (C. XX.), from their passions and impure loves (C. XXI.). It is also vain to refer the gods symbolically to the elements in nature, as some have attempted to do; *e. g.*, if Jupiter is fire, he is not God (C. XXII.).

But when it is objected that miracles sometimes occur through the images of the gods, that he may explain this supposed power, he refers to the opinions of Thales and Plato concerning demons (C. XXIII.). The *demons*

are in truth the authors of those effects ascribed to the statues. He treats more fully the origin and nature of these. The Christians also believe in angels, and that they, when intrusted with the care and supervision of the works of God, have performed their duties for the most part, but in some cases have turned aside, and even fallen into impure intercourse with women; hence the giants or demons were born (C. XXIV.). These demons, he says, even as bad spirits, because they seem to argue against the goodness of God, have led some to deny without sufficient reason divine Providence (C. XXV.). These (demons), eager for the sacrificial incense, draw men to the images, and assume as their own the names of those supposed gods to whom the statues were erected (C. XXVI.). They cause empty visions to exert an influence on weak natures, and pretend that the influence proceeds from the images; and when any soul divines the future or accomplishes a cure, they claim the glory for themselves (C. XXVII.).

He resumes the discussion of the names and persons of the gods, and proves more at length, from Herodotus (C. XXVII.), and the poets (C. XXIX.), that these gods were men; and seeks the reasons why men have obtained divine honors (C. XXX.).

He now advances to the other crimes charged against the Christians, concerning which he observes, by way of introduction, that it is not strange that they are charged with them, since it appears from the example of Pythagoras and others that vice always opposes virtue; and these charges are, in fact, refuted by the belief of the Christians concerning God, and future reward and punishment (C. XXXI.).

II. As far as Oedipodean intercourse is concerned, he shows that they are falsely accused of this crime, which,

however, the heathens might with truth charge upon their gods; but as for the Christians, they esteem a wanton look adultery, use caution even in the kiss of salutation (C. XXXII.), limit sexual indulgence to the procreation of children, even encourage perpetual virginity, and consider second marriage but a specious form of adultery (C. XXXIII.). It is strange, indeed, that adulterers and corrupters of men should defame eunuchs and those satisfied with single marriage, men who not only practice justice, but also patience (C. XXXIV.).

III. Finally, he argues that the Christians are falsely accused of indulging in Thyestean feasts. For, he says, such feasts can not be without murder; but no one has asserted that he has ever seen a man killed by Christians. There can be, in fact, no suspicion of such a crime against those who will not behold even just slaughter, nor the games of the gladiators; who esteem it homicide to use drugs to bring on abortion, and parricide to expose infants (C. XXXV.); who expect that there will be a resurrection of the dead, which doctrine ought not to be considered ridiculous or novel, since it has been confirmed by the heathen philosophers themselves. Concerning this, however, he promises to write more fully in another place (C. XXXVI.). In conclusion (C. XXXVII.), he calls upon his royal readers, since all the accusations against the Christians have been disposed of, to give their assent to his petition in accordance with their kindness of disposition toward all men.

NOTES.

[In the grammatical notes reference figures used alone indicate sections in Crosby's Greek Grammar; H., G., K., F., and M. refer to the Greek Grammars of Hadley, Goodwin, and Kühner, Farrar's Greek Syntax, and March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. The angle (<) is placed between two forms, one of which is derived from the other by euphonic changes, the opening toward the earlier form. The usual abbreviations of grammatical terms are used.]

A PLEA OF ATHENAGORAS, ATHENIAN, PHILOSOPHER, CHRISTIAN, FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

Ἀθηναγόρου, κ. τ. λ. *Athenian* is more closely connected in thought with *Athenagoras*, *Christian* with *Philosopher*.

πρεσβεία in the older Greek means an "embassy," and has been often so translated here; but here for the first time, unless the epistles of Phalaris be older, it means *intercession*, *plea*; so after in Basil., iv., 1012, c; Greg. Naz., and often. Soph. Lex. Compare the meanings of Latin *Orator*.

περί: some manuscripts read ὑπέρ; but see for περί, *in behalf of* a person, after words of praying, John xvi., 26; Acts viii., 15; Heb. xiii., 18; Justin Martyr, Tryph., 34. Περί implies a setting forth of truth to the candid, where ὑπέρ would suit a defense against the hostile; see page 53, *De Resurr.*, 1, 4.

Χριστιανῶν, Acts xi., 26.

Μάρκῳ Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ Ἀυρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus was associated in the empire, A.D. 161-169, with his brother Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus Commodus, and from November, 176, to March, 180, with his son Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus. The Commodus here ad-

dressed was supposed by many eminent scholars to be the former, but since Mosheim's examination of the matter (*De Vera Aetate Apol. Athen. pro Christ.*) it is taken to be the latter. The time of the great peace referred to in chap. i., 3, gives the date of the plea as late as the reign of the son and his assumption of the title *Sarmaticus* (A.D. 176), while the address to the emperors as resident at Rome, in chap. xvi., shows it to have preceded their going to war in Germany (August 5, 178); and the mention of the servants in chap. xxxv., as testifying to the purity of the life of the Christians, shows it to have preceded the baneful testimony of the servants in Gaul—177, 178 (Eusebius, *H. E.*, v., 1). The immediate occasion was the renewal of bitter persecutions under Marcus Aurelius; particularly that at Smyrna, where the venerable bishop Polycarp met his death (Eusebius, *iv.*, 15); and those at Lyons and Vienna (Eusebius, *v.*, 1-3). Antoninus Pius had declared against mob violence toward the Christians, and had sought to afford them protection in case of judicial accusation. But their condition grew worse under the reign of Aurelius. He disliked the Christian enthusiasm (see his *Monol.*, xi., 3), and was anxious from political reasons to preserve the old religion of the state. His law (in the *Pandects*) condemning the propagators of religious superstition to exile, probably had reference to Christians; and the "new edicts" mentioned in Eusebius (*iv.*, 26), but which have not come down to us, were yet more severe. Commodus, worthless and detestable as he was, showed himself remarkably favorable to the Christians, owing to the influence of Marcia over him.

According to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, *iv.*, 30), there were Christians in the palace and service of the emperor. See, however, Tertul., *Ad Scap.*, c. 5; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, *iv.*, 33, 9; Euseb., *v.*, 21.

Ἀρμενικοῖς, Σαρματικοῖς. Verus received the title *Armeniacus*, A.D. 163, for the conquest of Armenia; Marcus Aurelius took it by courtesy, as joint emperor; his son never bore it. Marcus and his son received the title *Sarmaticus* A.D. 176: *Quadis superatis, qui cum Marcomanis, Vandalis, Suevis, appellatione Sarmatorum comprehenduntur.* The common title of the emperor for the next two years is *Germanicus et Sarmaticus*, and Mommsen and others have no doubt that *Ἀρμενικοῖς* is a mistake for *Γερμανικοῖς*. But

the name Ἀρμενιακός may, like Φιλόσοφος, have been extended by courtesy to the son as an emperor jointly addressed and heir presumptive to the honors of his father.

Φιλοσόφους; their chief distinction in the mind of Athenagoras. Marcus Aurelius was an eminent Stoic philosopher.

Observe the omission of the greeting (χαίρειν) in the address, and compare Rom. i., 1-7.

CHAPTER I.

THE INJUSTICE SHOWN TOWARD THE CHRISTIANS.

1. Ἡ ὑμετέρα οἰκουμένη, *your world*, i. e., the Roman Empire. Luke ii., 1; Acts xxiv., 5; Josephus, B. I., iv., 11, 5.

μεγάλοι for μέγιστοι; 484.—βασιλέων, 415, 419; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

ἄλλος, partitive appositive of οἰκουμένη, 393, d; H., 499, 500, b; G., 137, note 2. For this use of ἄλλος ἄλλοις, see 567, d.

ἔξει καὶ νόμοις, 466, b; H., 607, a; G., 188, note 2.

χρῶνται, 568. The subject, οἰκουμένη, is collective.

αὐτῶν, 415; H., 558, s; G., 168.

δίκης, objective gen., 444; H., 565; G., 167, 3.

κὰν γελοῖα ᾗ, *though they be ridiculous*. 701, 2, g. The subject of ᾗ is τὰ πάτρια.

Ἑκτορα. The worship of Hector is referred to by other authors—Synesius, Calvit. Encom., p. 82; Philostratus, Her., p. 68; Pausan., iii., 18, 9.

Ἀδράστειαν; prob. from α, priv., and διδράσκω, not to be escaped, viz., Nemesis, the punisher of injustice. Otto can not find mention elsewhere of the worship of Helen as Adrasteia by the Trojans. She is spoken of as the daughter of Nemesis, however, or Ἑρμηνούσις. Callim., Hymn. ad Dianam, 232; Apollod., iii., 10, 6. See Class. Dict.

Ἀγαμέμνονα. Agamemnon as Jupiter is mentioned in Lycophron, Cassandr., 1129.

Φιλονόην. Philonoe, daughter of Tyndareus, was presented with immortality by Diana. Apollodorus, iii., 10, 6.

Τυνδάρεω, 200, 120, i, 770, b.

Τέννην. Tenes, son of Cynus and Proclea, was exposed on the sea-coast of Troas by his father for a supposed offense against his wife, Philonome. Tenes floated to Leucophrys (Tenedos), and became sovereign of the island. Cynus afterward wished to be reconciled to his son, and went to Tenedos; but Tenes cut the cable by which his ship was tied to the shore. Hence "the hatchet of Tenes" became proverbial to intimate a resentment that can not be pacified. His worship is often mentioned elsewhere. Cic., De Nat. Deor., iii., c. 15.

Ἐρεχθεύ. Erechtheus was an epithet of Neptune, Cic., De Nat. Deor., iii., c. 19. Pausanias describes his temple in the Acropolis, i., 26, 5. Neptune and Minerva contended for the honor of giving a name to Cecropia (Athens). Minerva won the honor, but Jupiter permitted them to be conjointly worshiped there.

τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια, *religious rites and mysteries.*

αἱ ἑνομήθησαν, κ. τ. λ., *who were thought to be impious, to have opened the box.* Agraulos (Aglauros) and Pandrosos were daughters of Cecrops, the first king of Athens. The box was intrusted to them by Minerva. It contained the deformed body of Erichthonius, who afterward became king of Athens. For some account of the revolting rites observed in honor of Agraulos, see Eusebius, Praepar. Ev., iv., 16, 2. There was a temple to Pandrosos in the citadel of Athens. Apollod., iii., 14, 2.

ἄνθρωποι, *the subject of κατάγουσιν.*

ἂν ἄν θείωσιν (sc. κατάγειν), θείωσιν, 640, s; H., 757; G., 232, 3. Σεοὺς, 480, 2, a; H., 553; G., 164.

The early fathers make frequent mention of these Egyptian gods. Clemens Alexand. (Instructor, iii., 2) describes the beautiful temples of the Egyptians, then passes on to say: "But if you enter the penetralia of the inclosure, and, in haste to behold something better, seek the image that is the inhabitant of the temple, and if the priest . . . remove a little of the veil to show the god, he will give you a hearty laugh at the object of worship. For the deity that is sought, to whom you have rushed, will not be found within, but a cat or a crocodile, or a serpent of the country, or some such beast unworthy of the temple, but

quite worthy of a den, a hole, or the dirt. The god of the Egyptians appears a beast rolling on a purple couch."

Athenagoras skillfully brings forward examples of the most absurd religious rites, that he may thus remove the scandal of the cross.

Among the Romans, by the laws of the twelve tables (Cic., De Leg., ii., 8), any religious worship that had not been publicly sanctioned was penally forbidden. It was the habit, however, of the Roman government, from policy rather than from liberality, to allow the practice of their own religions to all the conquered nations. Judaism was such a *religio licita*. And since no very clear distinction was made by the Romans between the Christians, as such, and the Jews until after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), the Christians shared their liberties as well as their persecutions up to that time. They, however, soon became the objects of special suspicion and enmity. Their religion did not pertain to any one nation, and was characterized by the most thorough union of its votaries, so it appeared as particularly dangerous to the government. The Christians were "*hostes Caesarum et populi Romani*."

Popular hatred was also excited by the fact that they utterly rejected the national divinities, and were hence regarded as a godless set, of whom were easily believed the most horrible accusations, such as the practice of abominable vices in their meetings, and killing their offspring and eating human flesh (see ch. iii., s. 12). They were regarded as the cause of public calamities. It was a common saying, "*Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos*."

Tertullian (Apol., c. 40) remarks: "*Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si coelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem!*"

Many persecutions were set on foot by individuals—heathen priests, sellers of images (Acts xix., 24–41), and others whose private interests were at stake.

The Christian religion remained a *religio illicita* until the reign of Gallienus (259–268), who upon his accession to the throne guarantied to the Christians by an edict (Eusèbius, vii., 13) full liberty and security in the practice of their religion.

Under this law they enjoyed peace and quiet till the reign of Diocletian (284-305).

2. Καὶ τοῦτοις πᾶσιν, κ.τ.λ. *And to all these both you and the laws turn the matter over*; i. e., give permission thus to act.

ἐπιτρέπετε. The person of the verb is controlled by ὑμεῖς as the more prominent subject, 496; H., 511, d.

τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ. μὲν warns that the thought which it introduces is to be distinguished from one presently to be introduced by its correlative δέ. The contrast is frequently so slight that it can not be rendered into English. In the present case they may be rendered, *on the one hand . . . on the other hand*. τὸ is the article with the infinitive ἡγεῖσθαι, *deeming, on the one hand, that to believe there is no God at all is impious and wicked; on the other hand, that to worship as gods, etc.*

βούλεται (sc. χρῆσθαι).

ἀπέχωνται, 624; H., 739; G., 216.

δέει, 466; H., 606; G., 188.

τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, 405.

Ἰμὴν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τί ἀπεχθάνεται; *But why is the name odious to you?* There are various readings here. The one given is preferred by Otto. The most important variation is suggested by the texts which read ἡμῖν δέ . . . *why is our name, etc.*

ἐξ ἀκοῆς, *from hearsay*, 412, 434.

μίσους ἄξια, *worthy of hatred*, 431; H., 584, c; G., 178, note; M., 320, c.

3. Διόπερ τὸ πρᾶον ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ. *Wherefore admiring your mildness and gentleness, your peaceful and kind disposition toward every (one).* Θαναμάζοντες, in agreement with οἱ μὲν. ὑμῶν, viz., the emperors, 435. Observe the rhetorical skill of Athenagoras in conciliating his royal hearers by judicious praise.

οἱ μὲν καθ' ἕνα, *individuals* (men, one at a time); Lat., *singuli quidem*.—κατὰ > καθ', 127, 161; H., 72; G., 17.

πρὸς ἀξίαν, *according to rank*.—τιμῆς, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2.

εἰρήνης, A.D. 176, after the victory over the Germani and Sarmati (see p. 104), when a coin of M. Antoninus Augustus Germ. Sarm. was struck inscribed, PAX. AETERNA. AVG.

4. Ἡμεῖς, the subject of ἐρολήσαμεν. The sentence illustrates a favorite feature of the style of Athenagoras. The interest is excited and maintained through long and involved, though not often obscure sentences, by postponing the chief thought to the close.

οἱ λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί; λεγόμενοι is used not because *Christian* was unfamiliar, but because it was odious.

ἡμῶν, *for us*; 432, d; H., 576; G., 171, 2.

συγχωρεῖτε δὲ . . . ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι, *but you allow us to be harassed, plundered, and persecuted, doing no wrong* (μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας), etc.

εὐσεβέστατα, δικαιοτάτα, adverbs modifying διακειμένους; *but of all men disposed most piously and uprightly to the Deity*, etc., 263.

πάντων, 419, c; H., 559; G., 168.

προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου, 675; H., 593; G., 183. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 17: "Ὅθεν θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν." Tertullian to Scapula, c. 2: "Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris, quem sciens a deo suo constitui necesse est ut et ipsum diligat et revereatur et honoret et salvum velit cum toto Romano imperio."

τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς, *the affairs concerning ourselves*.

καὶ παρὰ πάντα νόμον καὶ λόγον, *and contrary to all law and reason*. παρὰ, *beside*, M., 254, b; with accus., movement to the side of, *by, beyond* a place; transgression of law.

ὅπως πανσώμεθα, κ. τ. λ., *that we may at length cease being slain by false accusers*.

συκοφάντης, *fig-shower*, Engl. *sycophant*, early imagined to mean an informer against exporters of figs, or plunderers of sacred fig-trees; later, from comparison with σείω, with which it is found coupled, e. g., Luke iii., 14, *bringing out the figs* by shaking the tree, *bringing out the money* from the pockets of rich men by informations and the like.

πανσώμεθα, 624; H., 739; G., 216.

5. εἰς χρήματα, *upon our property*.

τῶν διωκόντων, as a law term, those who prosecute or sue in the courts; here, however, *those who persecute, enemies*.

ζημία, αἰσχύνη, βλάβη; the substantive verb is omitted, 572; H., 508.

τῶν μειζόνων, gen. part., *nor (is) the damage against any other of our greater (interests).*

καταφρονούμεν, *we look down upon*; i. e., hold in contempt.

δέροντα . . . μεμαθηκότες, *having learned not only not to strike in return the one beating, nor to go to law, etc.* δέροντα, lit., *the one flogging*. ἐέρω also means to thrash, cudgel, like our vulgar "tan," "hide."

ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν . . . τὸ ἱμάτιον : Matt. v., 39, 40.

ἀπέειπόμεν, 2 a; subj. act., from ἀπόφημι, to speak from or away, so to renounce, give up.

ἡμῖν, dat. of possessor with σώματα and ψυχάς, 459; H., 598, 2; G., 184, 4.

κατασκεδάζοντες ὄχλον ἐγκλημάτων, *pouring upon us a multitude of charges.*

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRISTIANS CLAIM TO BE TREATED AS OTHERS ARE WHEN ACCUSED.

6. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει, *And if any one is able*. The condition is here presented in the form of an assumed fact; 631, a, b; H., 745; G., 221; F., 198, s; 205. Of course it is not the opinion of Athenagoras that the Christians can be convicted of the crimes charged against them; but he gives the sentence this form as a matter of rhetorical concession. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 3: "Ἀξιούμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καί, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπει ἐστί."

μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον, *small or great*. Construe as adverbs with ἀδικούντας.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥτις πικροτάτη, κ.τ.λ., *but we even think (ourselves) worthy to suffer whatever punishment is most bitter and merciless.*

μέχρις ὀνόματος, *to our name* (and no farther).

τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν, *the to-day day, the present time.*

ἡ, the object of λογοποιούσιν.

ἡ κοινὴ καὶ ἄκριτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων φήμη, *the common and indiscriminating report of men*. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 23.

ἡμῶν, 413.

ἀδικῶν, 431, c; H., 577, b; G., 173, 2.

ὑμῶν ἤδη ἔργον, *it is your work*, i. e., your duty; viz., ἀποσκευ-
ᾶσαι ἡμῶν νόμφ τὴν ἐπήρειαν.

σύμπασα (sc. οἰκουμένη), *the whole world, the empire*. The subject
of κεκοινωνήκε.

καὶ καθ' ἓνα . . . καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, distributive appositives to σύμ-
πασα.

7. Καὶ γάρ, *For truly*, 708, 709, 703, c.

οὐ πρὸς . . . δικαιοσύνης, *it is not in conformity with your justice*.

The infinitive κολάζεσθαι is the subject. δικαιοσύνης, 696; H., 654.
The word is used in its classical sense.

αἰτίαν λαβόντας, *getting a charge*, i. e., being accused.

ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μείζον, κ. τ. λ., *but with reference to us, the name to
have more force than the charges brought in the trial*.

τῶν ἐλέγχων, 408; H., 585; G., 175.

τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπιζητούντων, 675; H., 593; G., 183.

ἐνυβριζόντων. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 4, 7; Tatian.,
Orat. ad Graec., c. 27.

8. ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, *in se et per se*. Compare s. 2; also
Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 4.

διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑποκειμένας, κ. τ. λ., *but they appear bad or good through
the bad or good actions underlying them*, i. e., according as the ac-
tions underlying them are bad or good.

φανερώτερον, *very clearly*; lit., *more clearly* (than others); but
see 514, a; H., 662.

ὥσανεὶ . . . ὁρμώμενοι, *inasmuch as being persons urged on from
philosophy and all learning* (as a starting-point); i. e., as you are
well instructed in, etc.

κἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις φεύγωσι, *even if they flee upon the greatest
(crimes)*; i. e., accused of the greatest crimes: the crime usually,
however, being expressed by the gen. (431, c); but 452, 457.
For the mode of φεύγωσι, see 631, c; H., 747, 3; G., 223.

οὔτε τοῖς ὀνόμασι προσδήσεσθε, *neither will you attach yourselves to
the names*, viz., be influenced by them. ᾗ . . . εἶεν: observe the
careful discrimination in the use of modes. The optative is less
direct, and admits a larger element of uncertainty. The au-

thor might well say that names were empty and meaningless (though even in this, by the use of the subjunctive, he politely assumes no more than a probability), but in the nature of things the falsehood of the charges (*αῖτίαις*) should be suggested in terms of greater contingency. This power of expressing nice shades of thought, indicating as it does a wonderful degree of taste and refinement, was eminently characteristic of the Greek in its best period; but, as employed to the full by Christian apologists and writers, suggests also the circumstances under which they lived and wrote—such that “a man put his life and death on each word.”

τάξει, a military term, referring to the disposition of troops; *position, rank*. The idea of the sentence seems to be, all defendants are in equal rank before the emperor, in the same reasonable position as to fairness; and in the frame of mind naturally growing out of their being in such a position, they accept the judgment (*ψῆφον*) which condemns them, (no less than) the one which acquits. Justice is shown to both parties alike, and Athenagoras claims like treatment for the Christians.

9. *Τὸ τοίνυν πρὸς ὅπαντας ἴσον, the fair treatment (accorded) to all (others).*

τί γὰρ ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ., for what does our name contribute to evil? i. e., what significance has our name to show that we are bad men?

ἐφ' ὧτων ἂν καὶ εὐθύνῃ τις, for whatever charges any one may bring against us. εὐθύνῃ, 640, 641, a; H., 757; G., 232, 3. Der. εὐθύς, hence to guide, to keep straight; and so, to call to account, to scrutinize legally.

ἢ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀλικομένους πονηροὺς, or those found guilty to be punished. τοὺς, 666; H., 773; G., 134, 2.

εἰ μὴ, κ. τ. λ., unless he falsely profess the doctrine.

Οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ, κ. τ. λ., Even so we see the philosophers judged. Justin Martyr uses the same argument (Apol. I., c. 4), and Maran remarks that it has the more weight, because the philosophers were accustomed to ridicule the statues and gods; nevertheless the people willingly heard them, and they were not compelled to offer sacrifices. “Cur ergo,” says Tertullian (Apol., c. 46), “quibus comparamur de disciplina, proinde illis non adacqua-

mur ad licentiam impunitatemque disciplinae? vel cur et illi, ut pares nostri non urgentur ad officia, quae nos non obeuntes periclitamur? . Quis enim philosophum sacrificare aut deierare, aut lucernas meridie vanas prostituere compellit? Quin imo et deos vestros palam destruunt, et superstitiones vestras commentariis quoque accusant, laudantibus vobis."

10. ἐπιστήμην, *science*, as opposed to art (τέχνην).

οὐδὲν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ, κ.τ.λ., *inflicting no blame upon philosophy* (thereby).

ὡς νόμος, *as the law* (directs); *lawfully*.

ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη ἀναιτίος, *but science* (i. e., learning, philosophy) *is blameless*.

τὸ ἴσον, *the equal thing*, *justice*.

ἐκκλήματος, 404; H., 580; G., 174.

11. ἀρχομένῳ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου, *beginning to speak in defense of our doctrine*; i. e., at the outset of my defense. λόγου; for this use of λόγος, compare s. 9; ch. ix., s. 35; ch. xi., s. 45; ch. iv., s. 16, etc.

ἴσους ἡμῖν ἀκροατὰς γενέσθαι, *to be impartial listeners to us*.

συναπνεχθέντας, 1, a. p. pt. from συναποφέρω.

προκατασχεθῆναι, from προκατέχω.

οὐ . . . ἐξαμαρτήσετε, *will not err*.

πανσόμεθα πολεμούμενοι, *shall cease being assailed*; 677; H., 796, a; G., 279, 1.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

12. Θύεσθαι δέιπνα, viz., eating human flesh: from the well-known feast prepared by Atræus for his brother Thyestes, whom he had recalled from banishment. Only after the sumptuous feast Thyestes was cruelly informed that he had partaken of the body of his own son.

Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, viz., incest. Oedipus solved the riddle of the Sphinx, whereupon the monster perished; and Creon, as a

reward, made Oedipus king of Thebes, and gave him Jocasta to wife. But Jocasta was his own mother. Consult Class. Dict. The prevailing temper of suspicion against the Christians, together with the belief that they were atheists, and therefore without the restraints of reverence for the Deity, made the people ready to catch up and believe any thing bad about them, even charges of the most gross and revolting crimes. Almost all the early Christian writers deal with these charges. Athenagoras answers them in the following order: ἀθεότηα, ch. iv. sq.; Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, ch. xxxii. sq.; Θυέστεια δείπνα, ch. xxxv. sq.

Ἄλλα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα. The verb omitted. The assumption of the condition as a fact (631, a, b; H., 745; G., 221), shows well the writer's fairness of mind, and the willingness of the Christians to submit to whatever is just.

γένους, 405, b; H., 580; G., 174.

προφρίζους, *by the roots, root and branch.*

Χριστιανῶν, 415; H., 558 sq.; G., 168.

ζῇ; the subjunctive denoting probability (631, c; H., 747; G., 223); i. e., if these charges are true, it may well be said that they live in the manner of beasts.

Καίροι γε, *And yet.* He has just likened the Christians to beasts, and now, on a moment's thought, seems to discover that even that comparison would not be adequate to characterize such abominable practices. These charges could not be brought even against beasts.

τῶν ὁμογενῶν οὐχ ἄπτεται, looking back to Θυέστεια δείπνα;

καὶ νόμῳ . . . μίγνυται τοῖς Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις;

γνωρίζει . . . ὠφελεῖται τοῖς ἀθεότηα.

τῶν ὁμογενῶν, 424.

νόμῳ φύσει, i. e., by natural instinct.

ἐπ' εἰδείας, *in wantonness, libidinis gratia.* Compare ch. vii., s. 27; ch. xxxii.

13. τίνα . . . νομισθήσεται contains a double question, and is rhetorical, equivalent to a strong negative assertion. *Suffering what punishment for so great crimes, could this one be considered as being punished even according to his deserts?*

Εἰ δὲ λογοποῦται ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ., *But if these (charges) are only idle*

tales and empty slanders. Answering to *εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα*, above.

φυσικῷ λόγῳ, from the nature of things, *naturali ratione*.

κακίας, *ἐναντίων*, gen. abs., expressing the producing cause of tale-bearing and slander.

καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τούτων, κ. τ. λ., and of the (fact) that we do none of these crimes you are witnesses (seeing that you are) forbidding (any one) not to inform (against us). *μὴ μὴνέειν*, 713, 1, d. Athenagoras doubtless refers to edicts of the emperors, who at times sought to prevent mob violence against the Christians, and even forbade to bring accusations against them. Trajan had written to Pliny, "*hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere*" (Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 2). Adrian, in a letter to Minucius Fundanus (Just. Mart., *Apol.* I., c. 68), had directed that accusers themselves be punished if they brought charges against the Christians in the name of the religion alone. Antoninus Pius did the same. Marcus Aurelius, though he did not deal as liberally with the Christians, yet had forbidden to accuse them a few years before Athenagoras presented his Apology (A.D. 174); wherefore Athenagoras concludes that the Christians are innocent by the testimony of Marcus Aurelius himself.

συγχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν οὐδὲν πλέον, κ. τ. λ., to grant to us nothing more (than you grant) to those persecuting us.

καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιιδόντες, even giving up our lives. The Christians knew they were innocent; but even if they should be unjustly condemned, they counted it a glorious victory over their adversaries to give up their lives for the truth. Concerning this remarkable contempt of death, compare Just. Mart., *Apol.* I., c. 57; Dial. cum Tr., c. 96; Tatian., *Orat. ad Gr.*, c. 4; Tertull., *Ad Scap.*, c. 1; Minuc. Fel., *Octav.*, c. 37.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRISTIANS ARE NOT ATHEISTS, BUT ACKNOWLEDGE ONE ONLY GOD.

14. *"Οτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἰσμεν ἄθεοι*, (As regards then the fact) that we are not atheists. Athenagoras here begins his argument on

the first part of the defense. It extends through to chapter xxxi., and is the most full, clear, and logical discussion of the subject that has come down to us from the early fathers. Compare Clem., *Miscellanies*, vii., c. 1, s. 4; Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 10, sq.; Arnob., *Adv. Gent.*, i., c. 28, sq.

πρὸς ἕνα ἕνα, *one by one*.

ᾧ, the subject is ἐλέγχειν, the predicate γελοῖον; *lest not to answer those charging may be ridiculous*. For the mode, see 624, a; H., 739; G., 216.

Διαγόρα; 452; 454, e; H., 595, a; G., 184, 1. Suidas calls Diagoras Melius "the atheist." He was charged with five crimes, here referred to by Athenagoras. The greatest of all was his atheism, which led him to all extremes of impiety and blasphemy. The Areopagites offered a reward for his head. He lived about B.C. 416. See Tatian., c. 27; Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, iii., c. 37, and i., c. 23; Bacon, *Essay on Atheism*.

τὸν Ὀρφικὸν λόγον, *the Orphic doctrine*. εἰς μέσον κατατίθεντι, *placing in the midst*, i. e., publishing, to those, namely, who had not been initiated. κατατίθεντι in agreement with Διαγόρα.

δημούντι = *vulganti*.

ἵνα τὰς γογγύλας ἐψοῖ, *that he might cook his turnips*, 624, c; H., 739; G., 216.

ἄντικρυς δὲ ἀποφαινομένη, κ. τ. λ., *and openly declaring that there is no God at all*.

15. Ἡμῖν δέ; the indirect object after ἐπικαλοῦσιν; *Do they not unreasonably apply the name of atheism to us distinguishing God*, etc. Ἡμῖν δέ is thus made emphatic, and stands in sharp contrast with Διαγόρα μὲν.

ἔλξ, 404; H., 579, a; 581, 2; G., 174.

καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσον πολὺ, "*ac magnum inter utrumque intercallum esse*." See ch. xv., xx.

ἀγέννητον = *non factum*; *ortum, originem non habens*.

νῶ μόνῃ καὶ λόγῳ θεωρούμενον, *to be beheld by the understanding and reason alone*. See ch. xxii., s. 102.

16. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφρονοῦμεν; the supposition is contrary to reality; 631, a, b; H., 746; G., 222.

Διαγόρα, 449; H., 602, s; G., 186.

ἐνέχυρα, *incentives*.

τὸ εὐτακτον, κ. τ. λ., *the order, the universal harmony, the magnitude, the color, the form, the arrangement of the world*. Compare Minucius Felix: "Quid potest esse tam opertum, tam confessum tamque perspicuum, cum oculos in coelum sustuleris, et quæ sint infra circaque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimæ mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur, moveatur, alatur, gubernetur," etc. Likewise Lactantius, *Inst.*, i., c. 2; Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 17; Gregor. Naz., *Orat.* 2 de Theologia; Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, ii., c. 5.

καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαύνεσθαι αἰτία, *and the cause of our being (thus) harassed*.

ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν, *our doctrine*.

ἐκάτερα ἀλόγως πάσχωμεν, *we suffer unreasonably in both respects*.

ἐκάτερα, i. e., τὴν τοῦ μὴ θεοσεβεῖν δόξαν, *and τὴν τοῦ ἐλαύνεσθαι αἰτίαν*.

CHAPTER V.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE POETS TO THE UNITY OF GOD.

17. Καὶ ποιηταί, κ. τ. λ. The argument is: Since the poets and philosophers, who write as the Christians do, about God, are not deemed impious, why attack the Christians? So argue Just. Mart. (*Apol.* I., 20) and other fathers.

ἔδοξαν, 606, b.

ἐπιστήσαντες, *studying*, from ἐπίστημι, but connected seemingly by Athenagoras with the following ἀνεπιστημόνως and κατ' ἐπιστήμην, and implying the possession of intelligent opinions.

Ὁ . . . διαπορῶν. Euripides doubted the so-called gods of the vulgar; but this is not atheism. Compare Bacon, *Essay on Atheism*: "Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum."

Ὁφείλε, κ. τ. λ.; if correctly quoted, this is from some lost work of Euripides. There is a similar passage in *Phoeniss.*, 83 sq., addressed to Zeus: χρηὶ δ' εἰ σοφὸς πέφυκας, οὐκ ἔαν βροτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δυστυχῇ καθεστάναι; following this, our passage means: *if*

there is a Zeus in heaven, he ought not to keep the same man (always) unfortunate. Others for αἰτὸν read ἐσθλόν, the good man.

18. Ἐπὶ . . . δογμαρίζων. But (speaking) of the One apprehended by reason, according to knowledge, as mind has it, (he says) laying down an opinion, or definitely, not διαπορῶν, doubtfully, as in 17. The quotation occurs several times (e. g. in Plutarch, Clemens Alex., Lucian, Eusebius), but is from an unknown play, and is differently interpreted by Athenagoras and Cicero. The former would have us read it thus: *Seest thou the One on high holding about (embracing) in his moist arms that boundless ether and earth?* But Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, ii., 25, seems to read it thus: *Seest thou that boundless ether on high, embracing the earth even*, etc.

19. Τῶν refers to ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν in 17. *For of these (so-called gods), indeed, he (Euripides) saw neither the natures (i. e., the existences, οὐσίας), to which a name is accustomed to be given, underlying (them), nor that the names were given to things (i. e., realities) underlying (or existing); i. e., he did not know what sort of beings the names Zeus, Hera, and the like were applied to, nor did he know that there were any beings at all behind the names; for what do words amount to where there are no substances?* The technical terms of logic are used.

Ζῆνα γάρ, Zeus, for example, I know not save by report; a quotation from the Melanippe of Euripides. Compare Just., *De. Mon.*, 5, n. 60.

τί πλείον, what use (is there) of names? Others read, *what more than words?*

Τὸν δὲ refers to τοῦ νοητοῦ in 18. *But Him (he did see) from his works, considering, with an eye for things invisible, the things which appear in air, etc. "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."*—*Rom. i.*, 20.

20. Οὗ . . . ποιήματα, from whom these created things (are). τοῦτον, antecedent of Οὗ.

ρούτῳ, Euripides. The quotation is from an unknown play. It is twice in Justin.: Cohort. ad Gent., 18; De Mon., 2.

ἀληθείαισιν, long form for ἀληθείαις, *in truth, or truly.*

πρὸς . . . φύσιν, *teaching about the nature of God, filling his works with beauty, each thing,* the existence of God, and that he is one.

CHAPTER VI.

OPINIONS OF CERTAIN PHILOSOPHERS AS TO THE ONE GOD.

21. Φιλόλαος, modified by λέγων, is the subject of δεικνύει. The Pythagorean philosopher is meant.

καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ τὸ, *both the (fact) that (God) is one, and the (fact) that (he) is superior to matter.*

Δύσις and Ὀψιμος, nominatives without a verb, having ὁ μὲν and ὁ δὲ for appositives, which are subjects of ὀρίζεται. Both are followers of Pythagoras, mentioned in his life by Iamblichus. Lysis is in the dictionaries. Opsimus was from Rhegium.

ἀριθμόν, quasi-predicate noun agreeing with θεόν.

τοῦ . . . τήν . . . ὑπεροχὴν, *the excess of the greatest of numbers beyond the one nearest to it; ὑπεροχὴν has the same syntax as ἀριθμόν.*

Εἰ, *since.*

τε ὧν καὶ . . . περιέχων, *both being the tetractys, and containing.* "As geometricians use diagrams, so Pythagoras used numbers to assist his pupils in forming their conceptions. He made numbers the symbols of forms in the divine Mind. As numbers proceed from unity, or the Monad, so the different forms of nature recede from the simple essence of Deity. The Pythagorean Monad denotes the active principle in nature, or God; the Duad, the passive principle, or matter; the Triad, the world formed by the union of the two former; and the Tetractys, the perfection of nature. The Tetractys, or quadruple, was the root of the eternally flowing nature." $1+2+3+4=10$. The Tetractys equals ten, which is the highest number. $10-9=1$. The excess of the highest over the one nearest to it is one. Hence God is a unit. For fuller description, see Anthon, under Pythagoras.

ρούτῳ δὲ, supply εἰ, *since.*

τὸν . . . αὐτῷ, *the one next least to it.*

22. Πλάτων and Ἀριστοτέλης have no verbs.

οὐχ . . . οὕτως ἃ . . . διέξιμι . . . ὥς, *I am not going thus through what they have said concerning God, as if.* εἰμι is future in sense.

ἐπ' ἀκριβέως, *accurately.*

ὅσον . . . τοσοῦτον, *quantum, tanto; as, so.*

τῷ agrees with ἀκριβοῦν, used as a noun.

οὕτω, κ. τ. λ., *so succeeding in each branch of learning as not even they (do) who devote themselves to one portion of it; literally, cut off for themselves a bit.*

δεικνύειν, subject of ἔστι understood.

23. Φησὶν: in his Timaeus, p. 28, C, ed. Steph. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. II., c. 10, 9.

εὑρεῖν, subject of ἔστι understood. *To find is a work*—i. e., difficult. It is difficult for even philosophers to find God, but, having found, impossible to reveal him to the common people.

νοῶν, participle agreeing with Πλάτων.

οἷον, *such as; for example.*

Θεοὶ Θεῶν, (there are) *gods (the offspring) of gods.* Another quotation from the Timaeus, p. 41, A. Compare Just. Mart., Cohort. ad Gent., 20, 22; Eusebius, Praep. Ev., xiii., 18, 8.

ἅλυστα, (works which are) *indissoluble, I being not willing; against or apart from my will.*

τὸ . . . λυτόν, *every thing bound together, indeed then, is dissoluble.*

24. δημιουργόν, appositive of Θεόν, the object of νοῶν.

οὗ; its antecedent is Θεόν, which is the appositive of τοῦτον, the object of εἰδότες and κρατοῦντες, participles agreeing with ἡμεῖς, the subject of εἰσὶ understood.

25. The views of Aristotle are found in his Metaphys., xii., 7, where God is called ζῶν, but αἰδίων; De Mundo, 2, 6, where God is described as having heaven for his abode, οἰκητήριον, and as being the prime mover. He does not really seem to have thought God compound, as Athenagoras supposes.

καὶ οἱ, *and those from him*, his followers. Compare the meanings of English of, M., 254, 2.

οιονει, for οἷον εἰ, *veluti*, as if.

ζῶον σύνθετον, a compound living creature, in apposition with *ένα*.

αἰθέριον, ἀστέρας, σφαῖραν, in apposition with *σῶμα*.

κινούμενα κυκλοφορητικῶς, *being moved in circular motion*.

ψυχὴν; supply νομίζοντες from the clause above.

λόγον, *the reason* (presiding) *over the motion of the body*.

γινόμενον, *becoming*.

τούτου, referring to *σώματος*.

26. Οἱ . . . στοᾶς, *those of the porch*, the Stoics. They held the gods to be either natural material objects, or heroes, in both of which the divine nature is eminently seen.

κἂν, for καὶ ἐάν, *etsi, although*, goes with πληθύνωσι. For the views of the Stoics, see Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, iv., 25, and Mosheim's note.

ταῖς . . . ὕλης, *by the names* (they use) *according to the changes of matter*.

πληθύνωσι, *multiply the Deity in names*.

γοῦν, γε οὖν, *tamen, yet, nevertheless*.

εἰ γὰρ, *for if the Deity* (is) *an artistic fire, moving methodically* (ὁδῶς=καθ' ὁδόν) *to the* (various) *productions of the world*, or to the production (of the various things) in the world.

ἐμπεριειληφός, perfect participle, agreeing with πῦρ. ἐν+περί + λαμβάνω, *take around in, embrace*. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, ii., 22.

σπερματικούς λόγους, *laws of generation*. The Stoics held that these laws or principles were found in matter; a pantheistic materialism, now again the fashion.

ειμαρμένην, *fate*. Perf. pas. part. of μείρομαι, used as a noun. *That which is allotted*.

τὸ δέ; supply εἰ.

Ζεὺς, "Ἡρα, appositives of Θεός.

ζέον, neuter participle of ζέω, to boil, the part of matter which is hot or fervid. For Ζεὺς, really *the bright*, the God of *day*, akin to δῖος, Lat. *divus, dies*, O. H. G. *Zio*, Engl. *Tues-day*, see Liddell and Scott, under Θεός, or, in the last ed. δῖος.

τὰ λοιπὰ, ὀνόματα is understood. It is in a like construction with Ζεὺς and "Ἡρα, predicate after καλούμενος.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE ONE TRUE GOD SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE ANCIENT POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS.

27. Ὅταν οὖν, quum igitur, *when therefore*, having the force of *since therefore*. Ὅταν is a rel. adverb, made up of ὅτε and the conditional adverb ἄν, followed by the subj. συμφωνῆται, 619, 2, b.

τὸ μὲν, *the (fact) indeed that the Deity is one*, is the subject of συμφωνῆται.

ὥς . . . πλεῖστον, *for the most part*.

πᾶσι . . . παραγινόμενοις, *by all, coming, or, when they come upon (the treating of) the first principles, the beginnings, of the universe*.

ἡμεῖς δὲ, *and (when or since; supply ὅταν) we confirm, or assert*.

τὸν διακοσμήσαντα . . . τοῦτον . . . θεόν, *the object of κρατύνωμεν, that the one who has arranged this universe (πᾶν, the all), (that) this one is God*. For the participle with the article, see 678, 3.

τίς ἡ αἰτία, *what is the cause? or, the reason why?*

τοῖς μὲν . . . ἡμῖν δὲ, *to them (poets and philosophers) it is allowed (ἐξείναι), but against us (Christians) there lies a law*.

οἱ ἔχομεν . . . παραστήσαι, *who have, i. e., are able, to place side by side, i. e., demonstrate*.

εἶνα . . . εἶναι, *appositive of ὅτι*.

ἀληθείας . . . λόγοις, *with the proofs and reasons of truth (that is, in harmony with truth)*. Notice the emphatic position of ἀληθείας.

28. ὡς καὶ . . . ἐπέβαλον, *as also to other subjects, (so to this one) devoted themselves, i. e., set their mind to, νοῦν being understood*. Compare Latin *animam advertere*.

στοχαστικῶς, *conjecturally*.

κινηθέντες . . . ὑπὸ . . . αὐτοῦ . . . ἑκάστος, *being moved, each one, himself, by his own soul, to seek*.

πνοῆς, *breath, afflatus*.

εἰ δυνατός, *whether he was able*.

τοσοῦτον . . . εὑρηται, *but to such a degree (being) competent as clearly to apprehend (it, truth) they have not been found*.

ὥς . . . ἀξιώσαντες, *as thinking it fit*; because they thought fit. For the use of ὥς with the participle to mark it as subjective, see 680.

ἕκαστος, distributive appositive of the subject of εὔρηται.

ἄλλος . . . αὐτῶν, *they laid down their (αὐτῶν) opinions*; *one, one opinion*; *another, another*: that is, each one had his own opinion, 567, d. Compare Just., Cohort. ad Gent., 2 sq. .

29. ὧν . . . μάρτυρας, *as witnesses of those things which*.

Εἴποιτε, 2d aor., opt. of φημί, *would say*.

τὸ ὄντως θεῖον, *the (being) really divine*, the true God.

εὐσεβεία, a family trait with the descendants of Antoninus Pius.

ὥς ὄργανα; compare 9, 35, ὥσει ἀδελφής; the comparison is common with the fathers.

CHAPTER VIII.

RATIONAL ARGUMENT FOR THE UNITY OF GOD.

The argument runs :

30. If there are two or more gods, they must be either in one and the same (category), or each in his separate (category).

31. They can not be in one and the same.

a. Not on the ground of likeness. Likeness belongs to created things, as framed according to the same type; but uncreated are unlike.

b. Not as being members of one body. Socrates (i. e., a man) has members, but the divine is indivisible.

32. Nor can they be in separate.

a. Not in place. In this universe the maker and governor occupies within and around. 33. Another god in another universe would be of little account to us, and, moreover, would be finite.

b. (34.) Not in function. The creator and governor does all and foreordains all, and leaves no divine function unexercised.

CHAPTER IX.

TESTIMONY OF THE PROPHETS TO THE UNITY OF GOD.

35. κατ' ἑκστασιν. So Just. Mart., Dial. cum Tryph., 115, and Tertullian: "necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina." Adv. Marc., iv., 22.

Κύριος . . . αὐτόν, Exod. xx., 2, 3, in substance. Compare Isa. xli., 4.

36. Ἐγὼ . . . θεός; Isa. xliv., 6.

Ἐμπροσθεν . . . ἐμοῦ; Isa. xliii., 10, 11.

37. Ὁ οὐρανός . . . μου; Isa. lxvi., 1.

CHAPTER X.

EXPOSITION OF THE NATURE OF GOD IN RESPECT TO THE TRINITY,
AND OF ANGELS.

33. νῶ μόνῳ. So Just. Mart., Dial. cum Tryph., 3: μόνῳ νῶ καταληπτόν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων.

φωτὶ; 1 Tim., vi., 16; 1 John i., 7.

ἀθεοί, i. e., ἀθείους, predicate after εἶναι, the subject ἡμεῖς ἀγοντες.

λόγον, the second person of the Trinity, John i., 1; and the same use of λόγος and words derived from it runs through the chapter, interchanging with the common λόγος, *reason*.

39. υἰόν, i. e., λόγος.

οὐδὲν βελτίους. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 4; Orat. ad Gent., 1-3; Cohort. ad Gent., 2; De Mon., 6.

40. Ἄλλ' ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ., John i., 3; xvii., 21-23.

ἰδέα καὶ ἐνεργεία, *form* and *force*. Plato.

πνεύματος; not the third person of the Trinity, but the sole divine substance: "God is a Spirit." Similar language is in the other fathers: Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 36; Tertull., Adv. Marc., iii., 16.

41. ὁ παῖς τί βούλεται, *what the Son means*; see Lexicon under *ἰδέλω*, and Latin *volo*: βούλομαι for *ἰδέλω*, as in Homer, because spoken of God, whose *will is effect*.

γενόμενον, not as *beginning to exist*, but as προελθών, *proceeding* to be form and force of all material things. Matter was created without form and void. Athenagoras has before described it as created. See iv., 15.

42. Κύριος . . . αὐτοῦ; Proverbs viii., 22. Justin Martyr also refers this passage to the Logos (Dial. cum Tryph., 61).

43. δύναμις; in Aristotle, *virtual power*, in distinction from ἐνέργεια, *active power*, and so, *being as such*, essence; in the fathers often *being, nature*. Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 82; and many places are cited in Otto.

44. ἴσταιται μέρος, *the theological part* (of our Christian doctrine) *does not stop here*, but we recognize also a host of messengers and servants, i. e., angels who are ministering spirits. See further in chapter xxiv.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAILY LIFE AND TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIANS.

45. Εἰ δὲ ἀκριβῶς διέξειμι . . . μὴ θανάσητε, *If I go minutely into our doctrine, do not wonder*, 631, a, b; 634, f; H., 745, 750; G., 223, 227.

ἵνα . . . μὴ . . . συναποφέρησθε, *that you may not be carried away*. A final clause-subordinate to ἀκριβολογοῦμαι, 624; H., 739; G., 216. γνώμη, 466; H., 606; G., 188.

τῶν δογμάτων, *the opinions*. Athenagoras uses the word of precepts of life, in distinction from doctrines of faith, discussed before.

μὴ ὡς περὶ ἀθέων ἔχειν; i. e., μὴ ἔχειν (περὶ ἡμῶν) ὡς περὶ ἀθέων. ἔχειν = *sentire*.

46. Λέγω ὑμῖν, Luke vi., 27, 28; Matt. v., 44, 45.

47. Ἐπιτρέψατε ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, κ.τ.λ., *Permit (me), pleading as before philosophic princes, to speak out boldly here, the word being audible by a great outcry.* Athenagoras would show his confidence in this the great stronghold of his defense by the loudness of his tones.

ἀναγαγεῖν (sc. λόγον), which seems to be used here in the sense of *voz*.

τοῦ λόγου γεγονότος, 675; H., 593; G., 183.

βασιλέων, 433; 689, g, i; H., 641, a.

Τίνες; the subject of *κεκαθαρμένοι εἰσι*.

ἀμφιβολίας διαλύνωντων, *clearing up ambiguities.*

ἡ τῶν τα ὁμώνυμα, κ.τ.λ., *or of those (teaching) homonyms, etc.*

τὸ ὑποκείμενον . . . τὸ κατηγορούμενον, *the subject . . . the predicate.*

These particulars describe the practice of dialectics, and the reference is to the Sophists.

τὰς ψυχὰς, 481; H., 549; G., 160.

ἀγαπᾶν. Compare ch. xii., s. 51. Also Tertull., *Ad Scap.*, c. 1: "Disciplina jubemur diligere inimicos quoque et orare pro eis qui nos persequuntur, et haec sit perfecta et propria bonitas nostra, non communis: amicos enim diligere omnium est, inimicos autem solorum Christianorum." So Just. Mart., *Apol.* I., c. 14, et al.; Cyprianus, *Ad Demetr.*, 25.

τὸ μετριώτατον = "id quod summae moderationis argumentum est."

τοὺς προκατάρξαντας λοιδορίας, *those having reviled.*

εἰς τὸ ζῆν, *against their life.*

διατελοῦσι κακῶς . . . μεταλλέοντες, *continue with evil intent investigating for themselves these secrets.* μεταλλέοντες, 677; H., 796, 798; G., 279.

ἐαυτοῖς, 453.

τὸ πρᾶγμα, *their business.*

48. Παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν. Compare Tertull., *Apol.*, 46; Just. Mart., *Apol.* I., c. 60; II., c. 10; Tatian., *Or. ad Gr.*, 33.

εἰ λόγῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν, κ.τ.λ., *if they are unable to prove by words the benefit of our doctrine.*

ἀπὸ τῆς προαίρεσως, *from their choice (of the doctrine); i. e., from their persuasion of its truth.*

οὐ γὰρ λόγους, κ.τ.λ. Compare ch. xxxiii., s. 162; Just. Mart., Apol. I., 16; Tatian., Or. ad Gr., 26; Cyprian., "Nos philosophi non verbis sed factis sumus; . . . non loquimur magna sed vivimus."

παύμενοι. See Matt. v., 39-43; Luke vi., 29-30.

CHAPTER XII.

THAT THE CHARGE OF ATHEISM IS FALSE FOLLOWS FROM THE LIVES OF CHRISTIANS.

49. Ἄρα; interrogative; *Should we then thus purge ourselves*, etc.

Θεόν, 666; H., 773; G., 134, 2.

ὑφέξειν παντός τοῦ, κ.τ.λ., *to be about to give an account of the present life to God, the one having made*, etc.; i. e., that we shall give an account.

ἐνταῦθα, 526; H., 492, f; G., 141, note 3.

ἐνταῦθα . . . ἐκεῖ, *here (in this life) . . . there (in the other world)*.

ψυχῆς, 404, s.

ὧν ἐκεῖ κομιοῦμεθα, κ.τ.λ., *as we shall there receive from the great Judge for our meek and benevolent and moderate life*. ὧν looks back to τηλικούτων. For the case, see 424; H., 574; G., 171. κομιοῦμεθα, fut., 305, a.

βίου, 431; H., 567, 578; G., 178.

δικαστοῦ, 412.

50. Πλάτων . . . ἔφη, viz., in Gorg., p. 523, E, 524, A, ed. Steph. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. I., 8.

ὁ τούτων πατήρ, viz., Jupiter.

51. Εἰς; interrogative, suggesting the indignation and surprise of the questioner—"an vero."

φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, 1 Cor. xv., 32.

καὶ τὸν θάνατον . . . τιθέμενοι, *regarding death as a deep sleep and forgetfulness*.

ὑπνω καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάονε, Homer, Il., xvi., 672. The whole line is Ὑπνῳ καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἱ ῥά μιν ὤκα, and occurs in

the address of Jupiter to Phoebus over Sarpedon, just slain. Hesiod also makes sleep and death brothers, Theog., 211. See Aelian, Var. Hist., ii., c. 35, and compare Athenagoras, De Resur-rec., c. xvi.

ὀλίγον καὶ μικροῦ τινοῦ, gen. of price. See prev. sec., βίον.

ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παραπεμπόμενοι . . . εἰδέναι, *being conducted to the future life by this one thing alone, to know God and his Logos.* Maranus so renders παραπεμπόμενοι (qui hac una re ad futuram vitam perducimur).

πολὺ δὲ καὶ κρείττονα, κ.τ.λ., *knowing that the expected life is far better than can be told in words.*

μέχρι τοσούτου, *to such an extent.*

Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶτε, κ.τ.λ., Luke vi., 32-34; Matt. v., 46.

διαφύγωμεν, 624; H., 739; G., 216.

ἀπιστούμεθα θεοσεβεῖν, *shall we not be accounted pious?* "The Church never wielded a sharper weapon against its enemies than the holy lives of its members."

52. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέλι . . . δοκιμάζουσιν, *for those testing honey and whey judge whether the whole is good from a small part.* Compare Irenaeus, Adv. Haeres., ii., 19: "non universum ebibendum esse mare ei qui scire velit aquam eius esse salsam."

CHAPTER XIII.

WHY CHRISTIANS DO NOT OFFER SACRIFICES.

53. ὥρα, adv.; not even *in a dreamy way.*

ἐκατέρων, not sacrificing, and not acknowledging the gods of the state.

54. τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, *this universe.* Some copies have not τοῦδε, but this duplication of τοῦ is used by the fathers. Just. Mart., Apol. I., 13. Similar trains of thought are common. Ep. ad Diog., 3; Tertull., Ad Scap., 2; Lactantius, Inst., vi., 1; Irenaeus, Adv. Haeres., iv., 14.

σπέρμα, object of ἀναβάλλειν *produce seed*, i. e., plants. Gen. i., 11.

55. "Ὅταν ἐπαίρωμεν, ποίας, κ. τ. λ.

Καὶ τοὺς, κ. τ. λ. Homer, *Iliad*, ix., 499–501. ὑπερβαίρ, MSS.

Καὶ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν. Rom. xii., 1.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DISCORDANCE OF THOSE WHO ACCUSE THE CHRISTIANS FOR NOT WORSHIPING THE GODS OF THE STATE.

57. CELEUS and METANIRA were parents of Triptolemus, who entertained Ceres when she sought Proserpina. Ovid, *Fast.*, iv., 508; Homer, *Hymn. Cer.*, 161. For their worship at Athens, see Pausan., i., 39, 1. Pausanius also mentions the temple of MENE-LAUS. For the worship of HECTOR, see before, ch. i.

Κεῖοι, *inhabitants of Ceos, Ceans*. Others read Χῖοι, Chians; but οὐ Χῖος ἀλλὰ Κεῖος. For ARISTAEUS—who, it seems, figured as Zeus Aristaeus, and as Apollo Nomius—see Virgil, *Georg.*, i., 14; Diodor. Sic., iv., p. 281.

THEAGENES was a famous athlete, for whom see the Classical Dictionary. Lucian, in his Council of the Gods, ridicules the simplicity of the Thasians in thinking that his statue cured fevers. Pausanius tells of his statue at Olympia falling on a man and killing him (see *Class. Dict.*). No account of his killing a man in the games has been found; and some think Athenagoras has confounded him with Cleomedes, who killed a man in boxing and was fined, and afterward deified, as Pausanius and Eusebius relate.

LYSANDER. See Plutarch's life. He restored to the Samians their republic. He was worshiped, Plutarch says, while yet alive. σφαγαῖς; he put to death 800 Milesians.

Ἀλκμάν καὶ Ἡσίοδος Μήδειαν, *Alcman and Hesiod represent Medea as a goddess*; this is not known to be true, and is not parallel with the co-ordinate clauses. Medea was, in fact, most worshiped at Corinth, which has suggested the reading, Ἀλλὰ μὲν Καδοῦσιος Μήδειαν. For other suggestions, see Otto.

PHILIP and his divine honors are mentioned in Herodotus, v., 47. Herodotus also, in the 104th chapter of his fifth book, tells the story of ONESILUS, son of Cherses, and brother of Gorgus, king

of Salamis, on the island of Cyprus. The most ancient city of Cyprus was Amathus.

58. The rites of the Egyptians are a common topic of wonder and ridicule both in pagan and Christian writers. Otto gives quotations from Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Juvenal, and others.

The argument of this chapter is in frequent use; Justin Martyr, for example, and Tertullian use it, but Augustine thinks it *facetius fortasse quam verius*.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CHRISTIANS DISTINGUISH GOD FROM MATTER, AND CAN NOT WORSHIP MATERIAL OBJECTS.

61. *διάκρισιν*, the separation of the elements mingled in chaos.

62. *τὰ εἶδη*, the forms of matter.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRISTIANS DO NOT WORSHIP THE WORLD, BUT ITS MAKER.

63. *Καὶ . . . ὄντι*, excelling both in size and in the disposition of the bodies in the ecliptic, and of those in the arctic zone, and its spherical form.

Καταγωγῆς, residence, palace.

τηνᾶλλως, obiter, incidentally.

πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, 1 Cor. xv., 28; Col. iii., 11.

64. *κόσμος τέλειος*, God needs not to create, he is a perfect world to himself.

65. *πρόσειμι*. Athenagoras is the subject. Plato's saying is included in *τέχνη τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, the peripatetics, who thought the world the body of God.

67. *Μαρτυρεῖ*. Plato, *Polit.*, p. 269, D., ed. Steph.; opp. ed. Bip., VI., p. 30.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NAMES OF THE GODS AND THEIR IMAGES ARE BUT OF
RECENT DATE.

68. *Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀπολογούμενον . . . λογισμούς*, *It is a necessity that one making a defense furnish more exact arguments. ἀπολογούμενον, an apologist*; the definitive participle used substantively. For the omission of the article, see 678, b; 534, 5; H., 786, 530.

ἀκριβεστέρους, i. e., *more precise* than he had yet given.

καὶ . . . καὶ, *both . . . and*.

ὀνομάτων, viz., the names of the gods. For syntax, see 413.

ὅτι νεώτερα, *that they are very recent*. An example of what is called the absolute use of the comparative (514, a; H., 662); but there is an implied comparison of the heathen gods to the God of the Christians.

ὅτι χθές καὶ πρόην γεγόνασιν, *that they are recent and of yesterday. χθές καὶ πρόην*, a proverbial expression for what was very new or recent. *ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν* is apologetic, brought in to soften an expression felt to be too strong; like "so to speak," or "as it were," in English. *χθές*, Lat., *heri*; Goth., *gistra-dagis*; Engl., *yesterday*.

ἴστε, from *οἶδα*, 46.

ἀξιολογώτερον, *very notably*. See above, on *ἀκριβεστέρους*.

ὥς ἂν ἐν πᾶσι . . . συγγενόμενοι, *as (being versed) in all (knowledge) and familiar beyond all (other men) with the ancients*.

πᾶσι and *τοῖς παλαιοῖς* both follow *συγγινόμενοι* in the construction, but strictly it is suited in meaning only to *τοῖς παλαιοῖς*. This figure of syntax is called *zeugma*, 68, 4, f; H., 882; M., 285, 1. *τοῖς παλαιοῖς*, 449; H., 602, s; G., 186; M., 299.

τοὺς καὶ γένη καὶ ὀνόματα δόντας, *those having given both genealogies and names*. "Athenagoras is in error if he supposes that these poets gave names to the gods which they had not before. Those which Homer has handed down in the *Iliad* and Hesiod in the *Theogony* were not invented by these two men, but received from early traditions which they followed."—Lindner.

αὐτῶν, i. e., Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod. For syntax, see 434, 689; H., 656, b; G., 191.

69. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. Herod., Hist., ii., c. 53.

ἡλικίην, *as to their age, or time*; 481; H., 549; G., 160.

ἔτεσι, 468; H., 610; G., 188, 2.

ἔμοῦ, 408.

καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, κ. τ. λ., *assigning their honors and functions and describing their forms*.

εἶδεα, from εἶδω; hence εἶδος, that which is seen.

70. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνες, μέχρι μήπω πλαστική, κ. τ. λ., *But images were not had in use up to the time when sculpture, painting, and statuary were not as yet*; Saurias, however, the Samian, and Crato the Sicyonian, and Cleanthes the Corinthian, and the Corinthian maid appearing, (they were known); i. e., these arts were not practiced until these persons appeared. εἰκόνες; images in general are meant, but Grecian art busied itself from the first with representations of the gods. — “Strike from the Grecian arts of poetry, painting, and sculpture that which they derived from Grecian mythology, and but a few naked forms, without soul or grace or beauty, would remain.” πλαστική, sc. τέχνη. So with the other adjectives in this line; 506, b; H., 509, b; G., 139. Der., πλάσσω, to shape, mould.

Σαυρίου, Κράτωνος, Κλεάνθους, κόρης ἐπιγινομένων; 675; H., 593; G., 183. For the same construction in Ang-Sax., see M., 304, d. τοῦ Σαμίου, 393; H., 499; G., 137. Cleanthes is mentioned by Pliny (xxxv., c. 3, s. 5) and Strabo (viii.). What is said of the others rests on the authority of Athenagoras alone. It is doubtful whether or not κόρης should be regarded as a proper name. The omission of the article (τῆς) before Κορινθίας leads Otto to conclude that it was not so.

σκιαγραφίας, *shadow writing* (σκία, γράφω), i. e., drawing in outline.

γραφικῆς; sc. εὐρεθείσης; in the same construction as σκιαγραφίας.

ἐν πίνακι λευκωμένῃ, *on a whitened tablet*, i. e., painted; pf. pass. pt. from λευκῶ (λευκός; Lat., lucere, lux).

ἐναλείψαντος, *having worked it with oil.*

ἔρωτικῶς γάρ τινος ἔχουσα, *for being in love with a certain one.* τινος, 432, e; H., 576; G., 171, 2. Pliny gives as from a tradition what Athenagoras here more confidently asserts. Plin., xxxv., c. 12, s. 43.

ἡσθεῖς ἀπαράλλακτῳ οὕτῃ τῇ ὁμοιότητι, *delighted with the likeness being exact.* ἡσθεῖς, from ἡδομαι, 1 a., p. pt. ὁμοιότητι, 466; H., 606; G., 188. ἀπαράλλακτῳ, lit. *unchanged*; comp. a priv. and παραλλάσσω (παρά + ἄλλος).

ἀναγλύψας, *having carved out*; from ἀναγλύφω; in agreement with πατήρ.

ὁ τύπος, *the figure.*

71. Τούτοις δὲ ἐπιγενόμενοι, *following these.* τούτοις looks back to those previously mentioned.

Δαίδαλος. Daedalus is a character of mythology rather than of history. He is represented as a descendant from Erechtheus, king of Athens. He was the most ingenious artist of his time; invented many mechanical instruments, as the wedge, the axe, the level, and the sails of ships. It was he who formed the famous labyrinth for Minos, and undertook the flight from Crete to Cumae and Sicily, together with Icarus, his son. He is said to have made statues which moved of themselves, and seemed to be endowed with life. Perhaps ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴν is here to be referred to Δαίδαλος, and πλαστικὴν to Θεόδωρος.

THEODORUS, an artist of Samos, about 700 B.C. He is said to have been the first who found out the art of melting iron, with which he made statues.

προσεξεῦρον, *further invented.*

Ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος ὀλίγος, κ. τ. λ., *Now the time of images and the making of idols is so short*, i. e., it is so short a time since these arts were invented.

πραγματεία, *business*, or *apparatus*; εἰκόσι, *pragmateia*; 460; H., 596; G., 184, 3.

ὥς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, κ. τ. λ., *as to be able to name the artist of each god.* ἔχειν, 671; H., 772; G., 266, note 1.

72. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, *For that of Artemis at*

Ephesus . . . *Endoeus formed*. Τὸ, used substantively, 527; 'sc. εἰδωλον. Εἴσω, dat. of place, 469.

Ἀθηλᾶ γάρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον, *for she is Athela, as those* (say who speak) *more after the style of the mysteries*. Maran observes here: "Athenagoras seemed to Gesner to contradict himself, because in chap. xx. (sec. 85) he distinguishes carefully between Athene and Athele, but here identifies them. This also led Lange to believe that the words μᾶλλον . . . τὸ παλαιὸν had crept into the text from the margin. But there were two persons of the name Athele—one said to have been produced from the brain of Jupiter, as Eustathius says upon the *Iliad*, p. 83: οἰονεῖ ἀθελή τις οὔσα, ὡς μὴ θηλάσασα ὥδινε μὲν γάρ φασιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Διός. This one is called both Minerva and Athene, and justly Athenagoras distinguishes this one from the other Athele, or Proserpine, whom Jupiter begat from a mother, who was, however, not nourished at the breast for the reason that she displeased her mother, being a frightful monster." And adds, on the words οὔτω γάρ τὸ, κ. τ. λ., "Plutarch testifies (Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, iii., c. 8) that there was a wooden image of Minerva preserved among the Athenians, which was consecrated by the earliest inhabitants. Ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἱδρυθὲν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διαφυλάττουσιν. The words of Athenagoras, οὔτω γάρ, κ. τ. λ., which Gesner omitted in his translation, are rendered by Dechair, 'Sic enim quod ex olea fabricatum fuit, antiquitus appellabatur.' But these words seem to refer rather to the kind (species) than to the name of the image; nor was it said to be an image of Athele, but of Polias. But how could Minerva be represented as ἀθελᾶ by this image if by this name it is not meant that her breasts were removed? It is therefore to be concluded that Minerva was represented in this figure with one breast, as the Amazons; or that these words, which have caused so much trouble, should be placed after τὴν καθημένην, whence they may have been transposed, as frequently happens, to a place which does not belong to them." Otto gives it as his opinion that these words are neither pertinent, in their meaning, to the case, nor suitable to the diction of Athenagoras, but were probably supplied in the margin by some learned commentator, and afterward brought into the text by a care-

less scribe; and that the form μάλλον δὲ confirms this suggestion.

Ἐνδοιος. Pausanias (i., 26, 5) calls Endoeus Δαυδάλου μαθητήν.

ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἔργον, and the Pythian (god) was the work. For the omission of the copula, see 572; H., 508. "Theodorus, with his brother Telecles, made a statue of the Pythian Apollo, probably of bronze—which, however, Thiersch denies. Telecles wrought a part of the figure at Samos, and Theodorus his part at Ephesus, and such was their skill and art that the parts were exactly fitted to each other. Thiersch thinks the words of Athenagoras are not accordant with Pausanias (x., 38, 3): Θεοδώρου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι οἶδα ἱερωῶν, ὅσα γε χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα. But Athenagoras only wished to mention the work. It was not to his purpose to say whether or not it was yet extant in his time."—Otto.

Τεκταίου. "This artist is always associated with Angelion by the ancients. Sillig accuses Athenagoras of an error, very pardonable in that time, because he says that not only Apollo, but Diana also was made by these artists. This is, indeed, to be doubted, as neither Pausanias nor Plutarch says any thing of the kind."—Otto.

τὰ λοιπὰ εἰδῶλα, the other images. He does not enumerate, for there were many of them.

ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κνίδῳ ἑταῖρα, Aphrodite, the courtesan in Cnidus. This was the most perfect piece of Praxiteles.

73. Συνελόντα φάναι, to speak briefly; lit., one bringing together to say; more commonly, συνελόντι φάναι; 2 a. pt. from συναίρω.

οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διαπίφυγεν, κ. τ. λ., none of them has escaped the being by man. αὐτῶν, 415, 416, b; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

ἀνδρῶπου, 434; H., 656, b; G., 191.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς, from the beginning.

τί δαί εἰσι, why are they younger than those having made them? δαί is a rhetorical affectation of surprise.

τῶν πεποιηκότων, 408; H., 585; G., 175.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GODS THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN CREATED, AS THE POETS
CONFESS.

74. Θεοὺς δὲ ἐφ' οἷς αἱ εἰκόνες, *but that* (there are) *gods to whom the images* (are made). The obvious objection is here anticipated by Athenagoras, viz., that the images are not the gods, but only the representations of them. εἰκόνες (sc. ἱδρύνται). ἐπι>ἐφ', 127, 161; H., 70, 72; G., 12, 17, 1.

τὰς προσόδους, *the processions of supplication* (πρός, ὁδός); the subject of ἀναφέρεισθαι, 666; H., 773; G., 134, 2.

ὡς ταύταις προσίαι, *which they make to these*. ταύταις refers to εἰκόνες, προσίαι (πρός + εἶμι) here governs a cognate accusative. ἐκείνους, viz., *the gods*.

καὶ εἰς ἐκείνους γίνεσθαι, *and are in fact made to them*.

τοῖς θεοῖς, 449, 8; H., 595; G., 186.

χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, *for the gods when manifest are terrible to be seen*. Homer, Il., xx., 131. The whole line is—

ἐν πολέμῳ· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.

Juno is speaking to the gods of Aeneas and Achilles. "Deos manifesto in lumine vidi."—Virg., Aen., iv., 358. On this belief that the sight of a god was attended with danger, see Liv., i., xvi.; compare also Exod. xxxiii., 20; Judges xiii., 22.

καὶ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως, κ. τ. λ., *and since they bring forward, as proof that this is so, the energies of certain images*. τοῦ . . . ἔχειν, 663, 435. ταῦθ' is the subject of ἔχειν. ἐνεργείας; the miracles and prodigies of certain gods and images have been elegantly treated by Lactantius (ii., 8) and Augustine (viii., 24).

φίρε; lit., *come!* impv. from φέρω, but weakened in meaning to a mere illative conjunction somewhat like Engl. "now."

ἑξετάσωμεν, *let us examine*, 1 a., sub. 1 p. from ἑξετάζω. For the use of the subjunctive in exhortations, see 628; H., 720, a; G., 253.

75. ὑμῶν, 414, c; H., 575; G., 172, note 1. The direct object of δέησθαι is συγγινῶναι.

πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, *before the discourse*, i. e., before I enter on the discussion. λόγον, 404; see also 433.

αὐτοκρατόρων, 415, 419, c; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

παρεχομένην . . . συγγνώναι, *to be favorable (to me) producing . . .*; 453, 456.

οὐ γὰρ προκείμενον, κ. τ. λ., *for to show the fallacy of idols is not my design*; lit., *is not lying before me*.

λογισμὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως, *reason for our course of life*. προαίρεσως, 435, 446; H., 558; G., 167; comp. πρό + αἰρέω.

Ἐχοιτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ, *May you also be able for yourselves*, or *from yourselves*, i. e., by considering yourselves. Ἐχοιτε; there is an ellipsis of the conclusion. So the optative mode comes to be used in sentences apparently independent (but commonly introduced by εἰ) to express a wish. Without αὖν it expresses a wish that may be gratified; 638, c, d, f; H., 721, 1; G., 251. Consult also F., 157, 159, 165, s; M., 162, 421, 4.

ὑμῖν, indirect object of κεχρίρωται, 452; H., 596, s; G., 184, 1.

πατρὶ καὶ νιῷ, appositives of ὑμῖν, 393; H., 499; G., 137. Commodus was the son of Antoninus.

εἰληφόσι, *having received*; from λαμβάνω, 281; in agreement with ὑμῖν.

βασιλέως γὰρ ψυχὴ, κ. τ. λ.; Prov. xxi., 1.

οὕτως ἐνὶ . . . πάντα ὑποτέτακται, *so to one . . . all things are subjected*. A simile very flattering to the emperors. The author's object in this section is to conciliate his hearers and bespeak their favorable attention to his argument.

Θεῷ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ; Θεὸς καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγος is a frequent form of expression with our author.

ἀμερίστω, *indivisible*; in agreement with λόγῳ. Comp. α priv: and μερίζω (μερίς).

76. Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν σκέψασθε μοι, *Consider, then, this for me*. Ἐκεῖνο looks forward. μοι; an example of what is called the ethical dative, 462, e; H., 599; G., 184, note 5; M., 298, c.

πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων; lit., *before other* (considerations); i. e., *especially*.

ὥς φασιν. Athenagoras is merely stating the opinions of the heathen poets with reference to the origin of the gods. These opinions are frequently spoken of with contempt by the early

fathers. Ἰσασί γάρ τιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν γελοιοτάτην περὶ θεῶν θεογονίαν λεγομένην. Just. Mart., Cohort. ad Graec., c. 2. Also Tatianus, Or. ad Gr., c. 21 : Γένεσιν ἂν λέγητε θεῶν καὶ θνητοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφανείσθε.

Ὁμήρου λέγοντος, 675 ; H., 593 ; G., 183.

Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν, *Oceanus the father of gods, and Tethys the mother*. The government of Ὠκεανόν and μητέρα is not obvious, as the line is only a part of a sentence. See Homer, II., xiv., 301, 302.

Ὁρφέως, gen. abs. with συνιστάντος, but repeated below in αὐτοῦ because the parenthesis intervenes.

καὶ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπε, *and narrated what things were done by each*. ἐκάστοις, distributive. Dat. of agent, 461 ; H., 600 ; G., 188, 3. πέπρακται, 569.

καὶ πεπίστευται, κ. τ. λ., *and is believed by them to treat very truthfully of divine things*.

παρ' αὐτοῖς. See above on ἐκάστοις.

ἄληθέστερον may be taken as the absolute comparative, 514, a ; H., 662 ; the implied comparison, however, is with Homer, quoted above.

τὰ πολλὰ, 481 ; H., 549 ; G., 160.

θεῶν, 413.

Ὠκεανός, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

Oceanus, who is the origin of all. This verse occurs in Homer (II., xiv., 246), but Athenagoras attributes it to Orpheus. "Nor is it strange," Maran says, "that Athenagoras attributed it to Orpheus rather than to Homer, since verses of this kind, attributed to Orpheus, but for the most part written in imitation of Homer, gave the impression to those who did not detect the deception that Homer was an imitator of Orpheus." Justin Martyr (Cohort. ad Graec., c. 5) cites the same verse and attributes it to Homer. The same sentiment occurs, Orph. H., lxxxiii., to Oceanus : ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

77. αὐτὸν, i. e., Orpheus.

ὑδατος, 412 ; H., 579, 582 ; G., 176.

προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος, *having the head of a lion having grown to it*. ἔχων in agreement with ζῶον.

διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν, *and through the midst of them*. αὐτῶν, i. e.,

of the two heads, one of which was that of a dragon, the other that of a lion. Gesner prefers the reading *αἰτροῦ*, and translates: "Corpus vero medium continebat faciem dei." Maran, however, defends the common reading, and says: "This head of a god was not placed in the middle, but between two other heads—viz., of a dragon and of a lion; for Hercules was Chronos with the Egyptians, as Suffridus Petrus observes, and they attached to him three heads, that should signify—one past, one present, and one future time."

78. *ὑπερμέγεθες ὦν, a great egg.* Athenagoras states this as the opinion of Orpheus. Maran gives a note, in which he says that this is not to be found in the verses attributed to Orpheus. Plutarch (he goes on to say), however, confirms the testimony of Athenagoras, *Sympos.*, ii., p. 636, where, speaking of Orpheus, he says: *Οὐκ ὄρνιθος μόνον τὸ ὦν ἀποφαίνει πρεσβύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαβὼν ἅπασαν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ πρεσβυγένειαν ἀνατίθησι, Ἡε not only declares that there was very anciently an egg as of a hen, but briefly attributes to it the origin of all things.* Plutarch then cites animals, which are evidently born from eggs, in confirmation of the opinion of Orpheus; and says that the egg on this account has not without reason been consecrated in the mysteries of Bacchus, since it represents both that which produced every thing and that which contains every thing in itself.

ὁ συμπληρούμενον, κ. τ. λ., which, filled, was broken into two by the power of its generator, through friction.

βίας, 434, 694; *H.*, 656, b; *G.*, 191.

ἐφ' ἡράγῃ, 2 a., p. from *ρήγνυμι*.

τὸ δὲ κατενεχθὲν, and that borne below. κατενεχθὲν, 1 a., p. pt. from *καταφέρω*.

79. *Θεός, fem., the goddess.*

Γῆ, appositive, 393.

διὰ σώματος; lit., *through a body*, i. e., in bodily form, 695. "Prodiit vero etiam dea Terra corpore instructa."—Otto, *Lat. transl.*

Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσιν, Ἀρροπον, the three fates, or Parcae. Hesiod makes them the daughters of Nox (not Terra) and Erebus.

κατεπατράωσεν, he threw down into Tartarus.

ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ., *learning that he would fall from his power by his sons.*

παίδων, gen. of agent, 434 ; H., 656, b ; G., 191.

ἀρχῆς, 404.

Τιτᾶνας; here confounded with the Giants, unbegotten children of Ge.

Κούρους, κ. τ. λ., a fragment from Orpheus.

Οὐρανίωνας, taken by Athenagoras to mean *celestial* here, really meant *sons of Ouranos*.

Τιτῆνας . . . τισάσθην, they call the Ouraniones the surname *Titans* (avengers, *punishers*), because they *punished* Ouranos.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE OPINIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

80. τὸ πᾶν, *the universe*; in the same construction as θεός. We should expect the genitive here with περί; see, however, 697.

αὐτοὺς, viz., the poets, 481 ; H., 549 ; G., 160.

Τί ἐκείνο τοίνυν, *What, then, is this?* i. e., *What can we make of all this?* "Quid hoc igitur sibi vult?" ἐκεῖνο refers to the preceding chapter, viz., to the exposition of the theogonies.

τῶν τεθεολογημένων, *of those things treated as divine*. Lat. transl., "corum quibus divinitas tribuitur."

ἢ γὰρ ἀγέννητόν τι, κ. τ. λ., *for a thing is either uncreated and eternal, or created and perishable*. The common reading here is, ἀγέννητον . . . γεννητόν. Otto, however, follows the Codex Argentoratensis, and says the reading is confirmed by the passage in Plato. ἀγέννητον = γένεσιν οὐκ ἔχον.

ἀίδιον, from αἶ.

81. Τί τὸ ὄν αἶ, κ. τ. λ., *What is that always existing, but having no origin?* Plato, Tim., p. 27, D.; compare Just. Mart., c. 32.

νοητοῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ, *the intelligible and the sensible*; "de eo quod mente ac de eo quod sensu percipitur."

Τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, κ. τ. λ., *By this reasoning also those from the Porch say that all things will be burned with fire, and will again exist*. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, viz., the Stoics. They were follow-

ers of Zeno, who taught in the "Porch" at Athens. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to whom this apology was addressed, was an eminent Stoic, hence surnamed The Philosopher.

ἐκπυρωθήσονται, fut. p. inf., from ἐκπύρω (ἐκ + πῦρ).

κόσμον λαβόντος, 675; H., 593; G., 183. The Stoics seem to have had a conception of cosmic periods, of returning chaos and new cycles of evolution, not unlike the speculations of modern science.

82. Εἰ δέ, *But if*. δέ introduces the interrogative clause πῶς ἡ τούτων μένει, κ. τ. λ., while εἰ introduces the conditional clause ἀδύνατον δέ ἐστι, κ. τ. λ.; δέ in the last answers to the concessive καίτοι. καίτοι . . . δέ = quamquam . . . tamen.

δισσοῦ αἰτίου ὄντος, a twofold cause being; 675.

τοῦ μὲν δραστηρίου καὶ καταρχομένου, one active and governing. τοῦ, a partitive appositive in agreement with αἰτίου, 395.

καθὸ ἡ πρόνοια, namely, Providence. καθὸ < κατὰ ὅ, 127, 161; H., 72; G., 17.

ἀδύνατον δέ ἐστι καὶ προνοούμενον, κ. τ. λ., it is nevertheless impossible for the world, being created (γενόμενον), to remain the same, even though cared for by Providence (καὶ προνοούμενον).

ταύτου < τοῦ αὐτοῦ, 124, 125; H., 68; G., 11.

μεῖναι, 1 a., inf., from μένω; μεῖναι < μῖνσαι, 152; H., 345, 2; G., 121.

τούτων, viz., of the so-called gods.

οὐ φύσει ὄντων; lit., not existing by nature, i. e., which do not exist in their own power—are not absolute and eternal beings.

83. Τί δὲ τῆς ὕλης, κ. τ. λ., And in what are the gods superior to matter? Τί, 481; H., 549; G., 160. ὕλης, 408; H., 585; G., 175; primary meaning, wood, Lat. silva; then, wood cut down; then, the stuff of which a thing is made, from which sense it is appropriated to this philosophical use, matter, as a principle of being. The question is rhetorical, equivalent to a positive assertion that the gods are in nothing better than matter, etc.

Ἐκ τε ἀπλῶν, κ. τ. λ., From simple and homogeneous elements, what could be constituted? Another rhetorical question.

στοιχείων, 412; H., 579, c; G., 176.

G

- ἔλγ, 452, 460; H., 596; G., 184, 2, note 1.
 τεχνίτου, 414; H., 575; G., 172, 2, note 2.
 ἑκτυπώματα, *figures*.
 χωρὶς τῆς ἕλης, *apart from matter*; 404.
 οὔτε πρεσβυτέραν λόγον, κ. τ. λ., *nor has it reason*, (is it reasonable)
matter to be older than God. ἔλην, 666; H., 773; G., 134, 2.
 Θεοῦ, 408.
 προκατάρχειν τῶν γενομένων, *exist before the things made*. The
 infinitive is the subject of the verb ἔστι (omitted, 572; H., 508),
 663, and has αἴτιον as its subject. τῶν, 404.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ABSURD REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GODS.

84. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μέχρι . . . Θεολογίας, *If, then, the absurdity of their theology were only as far as to say that the gods exist, and have their constitution from water*. μέχρι = quousque, usque ad. Lat. transl., "Si absurda eorum theologia his finibus contineretur ut deos factos," etc.

τοῦ φῆσαι, 663, 445, c; H., 614, 626.

ὑδατος, 412.

σύστασιν, the object of ἔχειν. συστα- < συνστα-, 151; H., 48; G., 16, 2.

ἀπίθανον, adj. used substantively, 506; H., 509; G., 139; comp. a priv. and πιθανός, from πείθω; lit., *the incredible*.

τῆς Θεολογίας, 415; H., 559; G., 168.

ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν παρεγενόμην, *I should have passed on to the other charges*. ἂν with the indicative here makes a conditional assertion contrary to fact; 618, 1; H., 746.

ἐγκλημάτων, 415. The other charges were Thyestean feasts (eating human flesh) and Oedipodean intercourse (incest); see ch. iii.

85. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διατεθείκασιν αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα, *But since, on the one hand, they have described their bodies*. This opens a long period, extending through ἀνάγκη κἀν τοσούτων εἰπεῖν, in s. 87. δέ introduces this last clause, while ἐπεὶ introduces the one in which it stands. τοῦτο μὲν looks forward to τοῦτο δέ, s. 86; on

the one hand their absurd forms, on the other hand their absurd deeds.

τὸν μὲν Ἑρακλία, i. e., διατεθείκασι τὸν μὲν Ἑρακλία.

Zeὸς δράκων ἱλεκτός, *a god as a dragon coiled*. This representation was derived from the Egyptians. Hercules, as Athenagoras has just said (ch. xviii., s. 78), was the creator of the world, which was produced from an egg. This creator the Egyptians represent under the form of a serpent. "Hoc animal Phoenices," inquit Philo Biblius apud Eusebium, Praep. Ev., i., 10, "bonum daemonum appellant, Aegyptii vero Cneph." Cneph, with the Egyptians, was the name of the creator of the world.

τοὺς δὲ answers to τὸν μὲν; *speaking of others as hundred-handed*.

Συγατέρα τοῦ Διός, viz., Proserpine, who was also called Athele and Core.

δύο μὲν κατὰ φύσιν εἶπον ἔχειν ὀφθαλμούς, *they say that she has two eyes according to nature*, i. e., in the natural place. The subject of ἔχειν is Συγατέρα. We should expect εἰπόντες for εἶπον, as above.

ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ, *in her forehead*.

προτομήν, *a face*. Gesner renders this passage, "ac rostro quodam in posteriore colli parte;" Otto, "et belluina facie," etc., and quotes the passage from Suidas: προτομή ἐπὶ ζώων ἀλόγων οὕτω λέγεται ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων πρόσωπον. Comp. προ + τέμνω.

διὸ καὶ τὴν Ῥεάν φοβηθείσαν, κ. τ. λ., *wherefore Rhea, frightened at her monster of a child, fled, not giving her the breast*. διὸ for διὰ ὃ.

παιδός, 435, 446; H., 558, 561; G., 167.

ἔφεισαν, 2 a., pt., 45; from ἐφίημι (ἐπὶ ἦμι, 128, 161; H., 72; G., 17), in agreement with Ῥεάν.

μυστικῶς . . . κοινῶς, *mystically . . . commonly*.

τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, *Athene*, i. e., Minerva; 449; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης λεγομένη, *so called from the pupil*. κόρης, i. e., the pupil of the eye. γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη was a familiar epithet of Minerva, and her eyes in works of art were represented by light-gleaming gems. For syntax, see 429, 412; H., 582, 623, c.

86. τοῦτο δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα, κ. τ. λ., *and on the other hand they have accurately described, as they suppose, the things achieved by them*. Some refer ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὸ πραχθέντα, *they have described their glorious deeds*.

αὐτοῖς, viz., the gods; dat. of agent; 461; H., 600; G., 188, 3. διεξεληλύθασαι, 3 pl. pf. ind. (διά, ἐξ, ἔρχομαι).

Κρόνος μὲν ὡς ἐξέτεμε, κ. τ. λ., *that Kronos (for instance) castrated his father.*

πατὴρ, viz., Ouranos.

ἑτεκνοκτόνει, *murdered his children (τέκνον, κτείνω).*

τῶν παίδων τοὺς ἄρσενας, *the male ones of his offspring.* παίδων, 415; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

καθὰ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ὁ Οὐρανός, *as Ouranos also did his sons.* καθὰ for κατὰ, ὤ.

περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, *for the government,* 429. Ζεὺς is the subject of ἐπολέμησε.

καὶ ὅτι τὴν μητέρα, κ. τ. λ., *and that he persecuted his mother, Rhea refusing intercourse with him.*

δρακαίνης αὐτῆς γενομένης, 675; H., 593; G., 183.

τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἑρακλειωτικῷ ὕμμι, *with the knot called Herculean.* "Herculean knot for a bond very stringent—not, however, such that it could not be loosed. For Festus Pompeius has shown that it was anciently a custom that the newly wedded bride be girdled with a belt of wool, tied with a Herculean knot, which the husband loosed for the sake of the omen. Therefore necessarily it could be untied."—Lindner. ὕμμι, 466; H., 606; G., 188.

τοῦ σχήματος τῆς μίξεως . . . ῥάβδος, *the rod of Hermes is the symbol of the manner (or fact) of this coition.* This marginal note on ῥάβδος occurs in two MSS.: Τὸ κηρύκιον λέγει· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ῥάβδος ἦν, Ἑρμοῦ σύμβουλον, ὃ καὶ οἱ κήρυκες ἐπιφερόμενοι ὠδεύον μετ' ἀσφαλείας πρὸς οὓς ἐχρῆν πρεσβεύειν. Ῥάβδος οὖν ἦν τὸ κηρύκιον ἐν ᾧ δράκοντες ἦσαν ἐντετυπωμένοι, ἀντιπλεκόμενοι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντιπρόσωποι, ὑπόμνημα τῆς αἰσχρᾶς ταύτης μίξεως.

εἰθ', *again, thereupon*; Lat., *deinde.* εἰθ' < εἶτα, 127, 161; H., 72; G., 17.

Φερσεφόνη, 449; H., 602 sq.; G., 186. Dionysus is commonly said to be the son of Semele, but Orpheus (Hymn. 29 in Dionysum) says that he is the son of Jupiter and Proserpina.

αὐτῷ, i. e., Jupiter; 452, 459.

Διόνυσος; 393; H., 499; G., 137.

87. ἀνάγκη κἂν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, *I must say at least this much*. See note on Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν, κ. τ. λ., s. 85. But the thought has been so suspended and delayed by the intervening matter about the forms and deeds of the gods that the construction is changed, and this sentence has the form of a hypothetical period, with an ellipsis in the protasis. Otto gives κἂν as equivalent to καὶ ἐὰν τοσοῦτον ᾖ, and translates the passage, "idcirco, quum haec ita se habeant, necesse est ut hoc saltem dicam."

τῆς τοιαύτης ιστορίας, *in such a history*, viz., referring more particularly to what has been related in s. 86 about the deeds of the gods; while the following question, Αἱ διαθέσεις τῶν σωμάτων, refers to the matter in s. 85.

ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν, 624; H., 739; G., 216; M., 433; *that we should believe*; i. e., on the ground of the fitness and utility of the belief. This rhetorical question contains a fatal thrust at the Pagan theology. True theology must have a real and unmistakable moral power, and this is the test of it: it must be suited to the constitution and circumstances of man, and such as to answer his needs.

Pliny finds fault with the forms and deeds of the heathen gods: "Matrimonia quidem inter deos credi tantoque aevo ex his neminem nasci, et alios esse grandaevos semperque canos, alios juvenes atque pueros, atricolores, aligeros, claudos, ovo editos, et alternis diebus viventes morientesque, puerilium prope deliramentorum est; sed super omnem impudentiam adulteria inter ipsos fingi, mox jurgia et odia, atque etiam furtorum esse et scelerrum numina."—Hist. Nat., ii., c. 7. For passages in the Christian writers in the same strain, see Tertullian, Ad Nation., i., c. 14; Apol., c. 16; Minuc., Fel. Octav., c. 21; Arnob., Adv. Nat., iii., c. 12 sq., coll.; Porphyry. ap. Euseb., Praep. Ev., iii., c. 2.

κεκριμένος = κρίνειν δυνάμενος; probatus judicio. So Herodotus, iii., c. 31: κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες.

ἐν θεωρίᾳ γεγονώς, *being in reflection*.

πιστεύσαι, *would believe*; 3 s., 1 a., opt.

Ἄν δὲ Φάνης ἄλλην γεγεῖν . . . ἄκρου, *But Phanes begat another dreadful offspring from the sacred womb, to look upon, a frightful snake, from whose head were hairs; the face was beautiful to behold, but the other parts from the top of the neck were of a terrible dragon*.

These verses are found in the fragments of Orpheus. "Concerning the first offspring of Phanes, which this 'ἄλλῃ' followed, we know nothing. His daughter in the form of a serpent, of whom we learn in these verses, is without doubt Nox, who is said to have wedded her father, Phanes."—Lobeck, l. c., p. 493.

φοβεροῖο, poetic gen., 201, a.

Αύχινος ἔξ ἄκρου. The adjective agrees with the substantive instead of governing it in the gen. part., 508, a. See Harkness's Latin Gram., 441, 6.

88. ἡ αὐτὸν τὸν Φάνητα δέξαιτο; supply *τις ἂν ἄνθρωπος*, κ. τ. λ., as in the preceding clause; *or what man would suppose that Phanes himself has the body or shape of a dragon?*

οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. The clause is added to explain *πρωτόγονον*.

ἐκ τοῦ ὠοῦ. "Athenagoras did not say that Phanes was brought forth from an egg in that passage (ch. xviii., s. 78) where he mentions the egg, but it is not difficult to understand that he who is said to have produced heaven and earth from an egg broken, together with it brought forth this first-born god; for Phanes is said to have had the form of a dragon because the creator of the world was commonly so represented among the Egyptians."

προχυνθείς, 1 a., p. pt. from *προχέω*.

τοῦ Διός, 434; H., 656, b; G., 191.

γένονται, 624; H., 739; G., 216.

ἀχώρητος. "Ut is incomprehensibilis fieret."—Otto.

Εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν διενηνόχασι . . . οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί, 631, a, b; H., 745; G., 220, (a) 1; M., 431. διενηνόχασι, 3 pl. pf. ind. from *διαφέρω*.

Θηρίων, 404; 407, 1.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, κ. τ. λ. Make *ὑποδιαλλάσσειν* the subject of *δεῖ*, 571, f.

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀποκρινομένων, *from those things derived from matter*.

Τί δαὶ καὶ πρόσμιν αὐτοῖς, *Why, then, are we to come to them?* See xvii., s. 73. αὐτοῖς, 449; H., 602, s; G., 186.

κτηνῶν μὲν δίκην, *in the manner of cattle*. δίκην, adverbial accus., 483.

ὑσειδέις, *unshapely*.

CHAPTER XXI.

ON THE WEAKNESSES, PASSIONS, AND IMPURE LOVES ASCRIBED
TO THE HEATHEN GODS.

89. Καίτοι εἰ σαρκοειδεῖς, κ. τ. λ., *And yet if they should only say that they had fleshly forms, etc., even then it would be necessary to regard such statements as nonsense, and worthy of laughter; i. e., even though they should not go to the extreme of making them "θηρίομορφοι" and "δυσειδεῖς."* Other Christian fathers have suggested the same thoughts against the Homeric theology. See Theophil., Ad Autol., i., c. 9; iii., c. 8; Clem., Protr., c. 2; Tertull., Apol., c. 14; Ad Nation., i., c. 10, etc.

ἐπιθυμίας, *lust*.

γέλως, 431; H., 578; G., 178.

"Ἔστωσαν, *Let them be*, 3 pl. impv. from εἰμί.

κρείττους μὲν θυμοῦ, *superior to wrath*. κρείττους < κρείττονες, 22, 121, 211. θυμοῦ, 408; H., 585; G., 175.

Σκυζομένη Διὶ πατρί, *χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος αἰρεῖ*,

"Ἦρῃ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στήθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσηύδα.

The lines are from the Iliad of Homer, iv., 23, 24. In a council of the gods, "on the golden floor of Jove's abode," Jupiter has just delivered some hesitating advice about making peace between the Greeks and Trojans. Then comes the passage here quoted: "Thus he spoke; but Minerva and Juno murmured with closed lips, for they were sitting near, and were devising evils for the Trojans. Minerva, indeed, was silent, nor said any thing, *indignant with her father Jove, for dreadful rage possessed her. But Juno could not retain her fury in her breast, but addressed him.*" Διὶ, 452, 456; H., 595, b, c; G., 184, 2. αἰρεῖ; the reading in Homer is ῥρει. ἔχαδε, 2 a., 3 s., from χανδάνω. προσηύδα; comp. πρὸς + αὐδάω.

90. Κρείττους δὲ λύπης (sc. ἔστωσαν, s. 89). δὲ answers to μὲν in κρείττους μὲν θυμοῦ.

"Ὡ πόποι, ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τείχος

'Ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι· ἐμὲν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ.

The words of Jove, who from the assembly of the gods beholds the flight of Hector when pursued by Achilles around the walls of Troy (Homer, *Il.*, xxii., 168, 169): "*Alas! certainly I behold with mine eyes a beloved hero pursued round the wall; and my heart is grieved on account of Hector, who has sacrificed many thighs of oxen to me upon the tops of many-valed Ida, and at other times again in the highest places of the city; but now, indeed, noble Achilles pursues him on swift feet around the city of Priam.*"

Ἐγώ, emphatic; 536; H., 667; G., 144.

καὶ ἀνθρώπους, *even men*. ἀνθρώπους is emphatic. The argument is a fortiori. If it is a weakness in men to yield to anger and grief, how much more in the father of gods and men. Observe, also, the compliment to the Stoics.

ἀμαδίεις καὶ σκαιούς, *rude and stupid*. σκαιούς, Lat. *scaevus*, Engl. *skew*; 98, e.

ὀδύρηται μὲν τὸν υἱόν, *mourns his son*. μὲν stands opposed to δὲ in ἀδυνατῇ δὲ ὀδυρόμενος, κ.τ.λ.

Αἱ αἱ ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἄνδρῶν

Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι!

"O woe is me, because it is fated that Sarpedon, most dear to me of men, shall be subdued by Patroclus, the son of Menoetius."—Homer, *Il.*, xvi., 433, 434. Jupiter is addressing Juno when he beholds the two heroes in mortal conflict. Αἱ αἱ ἐγών stands in Homer ὦ μοι ἐγών. Different readings occur in the MSS. of Athenagoras, as Αἱ αἱ (λέγων) ὅτε, κ.τ.λ.; Αἱ αἱ ἐγών (λέγων) ὅτε, κ.τ.λ. "λέγων pro ἐγών ex incuria."—Maran. ἐγών, 27, f.

Σαρπηδόνα. Sarpedon was the son of Jupiter by Europa. He retired from Crete to Caria, where he built the town of Miletus. In the Trojan war he assisted Priam against the Greeks, attended by his friend and companion Glaucus. When slain by Patroclus, Apollo took his body to Lycia, where his friends and relations paid him great funeral honors.

ἀνδρῶν, 415, 419, c; H., 558, 559; G., 168. μοῖρ' < μοῖρα, 127.

Πατρόκλοιο, 201, a. Patroclus was the son of Menoetius by Sthenele. At the court of Peleus, king of Phthia, whither he had fled after the accidental murder of Clytemnestra, he formed the most intimate friendship with Achilles, the king's son. He

was one of the bravest of the Grecian heroes. He absented himself, however, from the war with Achilles, when the latter was offended by Agamemnon, thus causing the overthrow of the Greeks. At last Nestor prevailed on him to return to the war, and he appeared in the armor of Achilles, before which the terrified Trojans fled within their walls. Patroclus was at last slain by Hector, and his body carried to the Grecian camp, where Achilles received it with the most bitter lamentations. This brings about new events in the progress of the war; for Achilles now forgets his resentment against Agamemnon, and entered the field to avenge the fall of his friend. II., book xviii.

Μενοτιάδαο, *the son of Menoetius*; 369, a; 197, c; 393.

ἀδυνατῆ, in the same construction as ὀδύρηται.

τοῦ κινδύνου ἱσαρπάσαι, *to rescue (him) from danger*; 404.

Σαρπηδὼν Διὸς υἱός, ὃ δ' οὐδ' ὧ παιδὶ ἀμύνει,

Sarpedon, the son of Jove; but he aids not even his own son. Homer, II., xvi., 522. The line occurs in the prayer which Glaucus offers to Apollo when he sees Sarpedon slain by Patroclus.

τοῖς τοιοῖτοῖς μύθοις, *with such tales*; 466, s; H., 606; G., 188.

φιλοθέους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀθέους, *lovers of the gods, but rather without gods.*

τῆς ἀμαθίας, *for their folly*; 429.

καταμήμφοιτο, 636, a; H., 721, 722, a, b; G., 226, 2.

91. μὴ τιτρωσκέσθω μηδὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ, *let not Aphrodite be wounded.*

Διομήδους, 434; H., 656; G., 191. Diomedes was king of Aetolia, son of Tydeus and Deiphyle. He was one of the bravest of the Grecian chiefs in the Trojan war. He engaged Hector and Aeneas, and by repeated acts of valor obtained great military glory. He with Ulysses stole the Palladium from the temple of Minerva at Troy. After his return from the war, he left his native country and built a city (Argyripa) in Magna Grecia.

τὸ σῶμα, 481; H., 549; G., 160.

Οὐτά μ'ε Τυδέος υἱὸς ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης.

Venus is addressing Dione: "But laughter-loving Venus answered her: 'The son of Tydeus, haughty Diomedes, has wounded me, because I was withdrawing from the battle my beloved son Aeneas, who is by far most dear to me of all. For it is no longer the de-

structive contest of Trojans and of Greeks, but now the Greeks fight even with the immortals.'"—Homer, *Il.*, v., 375-380.

ἡ ὑπὸ "Αρεως τὴν ψυχὴν, *nor by Mars in her soul.*

Ὅς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἰόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αφροδίτη

Αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, φιλέει δ' αἰδήλον "Αρηα,

Me being lame, Jove's daughter Venus scorns, but loves destroying Mars. Vulcan is speaking. Homer, *Od.*, viii., 308, s. Vulcan, the god of fire, and the patron of all artists who worked iron and metals, was represented by some as the son of Juno alone, who in this thought to equal Jupiter, who had produced Minerva from his brain. His lameness was the result of his fall when ejected from heaven by Jupiter.

"Ἦδη γάρ με καὶ ἄλλοι' ἀλεξιμέναι μεμαῶτα

ρίψε, ποδὸς τεταγών, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.

πᾶν δ' ἡμαρ φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἡλίῳ καταδύντι

κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ· ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν.

Homer, *Il.*, i., 590-593. His limping movements caused much merriment at the table of the gods.

"Ασβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,

ὥς ἴδον "Ηφαιστον διὰ δάματα ποιπνύοντα.

Il., i., 599, 600. Venus is universally acknowledged to have been the wife of Vulcan, but she was notoriously unfaithful to him.

... Διὰ δὲ χροᾶ καλὸν ἔδαψεν. The whole line is—

τῇ ρά μιν οὔτα τυχών, διὰ δὲ χροᾶ καλὸν ἔδαψεν,

"In that very part striking, she wounded him, *and tore his beautiful skin.*"—Homer, *Il.*, v., 858. Mars engages Diomedes in deadly combat, but Minerva aids Diomedes, and Mars is wounded. Gesner would supply before this verse, *μηδὲ "Αρης ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*; "but doubtless Athenagoras did not think it necessary in so familiar a quotation to remind that the words were spoken of Mars and Diomedes."—Maran.

ὁ σύμμαχος κατὰ Τιτάνων τοῦ Διός, *the ally of Jove against the Titans.* Τιτάνων, 689, m; H., 631, b.

Διομήδους, *than Diomedes*; 408; H., 585; G., 175.

Μαίνετο δ' ὥς ὄτ' "Αρης ἐγχείπαλος . . .

The words *ἡ ὀλοὸν πῦρ* finish the line. Homer, *Il.*, xv., 605. "*But he raged as when Mars (rages), brandishing his spear,* or when a destructive fire rages in the mountains, in the thickets of a deep

wood." Hector, incited by Jove, is pressing forward to fire the fleet of the Greeks.

Σιώπησον, 1 a. impv. from σιωπάω.

Σὺ δὲ μοι, κ.τ.λ., *but you describe the god to me as blood-stained, and the bane of mortals.* The words διηγῶ τὸν θεόν, below, are rendered here

"Ἀρες, Ἀρες, βροτολογιέ μαιφόνε . . .

The word τευχισιπλήτα completes the line in Homer (Il., v., 81). Minerva is addressing the god of war: "*Mars, Mars, man-slayer, gore-stained stormer of walls.*"

διέξει, *you relate.*

Τὼ δ' ἐς δέμνια βάντε . . . ἦν, *And they two going to their couch slept, and about them fell the cunningly wrought bonds of artful Vulcan, nor was it to move any of their limbs.* Homer, Od., viii., 296–298. Vulcan lays snares for Mars and Venus, whom he takes in their wanton transports, whereupon they become the laughing-stock of the gods.

92. τοῦτον ἀσεβῆ λῆρον, *such impious nonsense.*

Σηητοὺς αὐτοὺς δεικνύουσιν, *they represent them as mortals.*

ἀλλήλων, ἀνθρώπων, 432, e; H., 576; G., 171, 2.

Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη,

"Ἰδὲς ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶ ἐννηθεῖσα,
Aeneas, whom by Anchises the divine Venus bore, a goddess couching with a mortal on the shoulders of Ida. Homer, Il.; ii., 820, 821.

Οὐκ ἐρῶσιν, κ.τ.λ. Otto renders this passage, "Nonne amat? Nonne patiuntur? Profecto enim [sunt] dii, neque attinget eos cupiditas!" "The writer, after he has asked ironically, Οὐκ ἐρῶσιν, κ.τ.λ., adds with sarcasm, Ἥ (= profecto) γὰρ θεοὶ καὶ οὐ ᾤψεται, κ.τ.λ." This reminds of the memorable example of irony used by Elijah against the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii., 27).

κατὰ θεῖαν οἰκονομίαν, *according to the divine economy.*

Οὐ γὰρ πώποτέ . . . σεῦ αὐτῆς. Athenagoras does not quote the passage line for line, but only the parts that contain its essential outline. See Homer, Il., xiv., 315–328. The lines here quoted are 315, 316, 317, 319, 321, 323, 326, 327. Jupiter is addressing Juno: "But her cloud-collecting Jove answering, addressed: 'Juno, thither thou canst go even by and by, but come [now],

let us, reclining, be delighted with love; for never at any time did the love of a goddess or a woman, poured around the heart within my breast, so subdue me; neither when I loved the wife of Ixion, who bore Pirithous, a counselor equal to the gods; nor when [I loved] fair-ankled Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, who bore Perseus, most illustrious of all men; nor when with that of the celebrated daughter of Phoenix, who bore to me Minos and godlike Rhadamanthus; nor yet when [I loved] Semele, nor Alcmena in Thebes, who brought forth my valiant son Hercules; but Semele bore [me] Bacchus; a joy to mortals; nor when [I loved] Ceres, the fair-haired queen; nor when glorious Latona nor thyself; as I now love thee, and sweet desire seizes me.' Justin Martyr quotes the same passage in a similar connection (Cohort. ad Graec., c. 2).

93. οὐδὲν ἔχων θεοῦ, *having nothing of God*, i. e., no trace of real divinity.

ἀνθρώποις, 452, s.

Ὡ δώματ' . . . θεός περ ὤν.

"Admetus's halls, in which I have endured to praise the menial table, though a god."—Euripides, *Alcestis*, lines 1, 2. Apollo is the speaker. δώματ', 484, 401, c.

Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν . . . οἶκον.

"And coming to this land, I cattle fed for him that was my host, and kept this house." This is also from the opening lines of *Alcestis* (8 sq.). ἐς, 688, c. ξένῳ, 453; H., 596, a; G., 184, 3.

94. Ὡ μάντι καὶ σοφῇ, *O prophet and wise one*. The writer turns aside in an apostrophe to Apollo.

τὰ ἰσόμενα, *the things that are to be*.

τοῦ ἐρωμένου, *of thy beloved*. Otto supposes the reference to be to Achilles: "Id quod omnes commentatores non viderunt. Just. Mart., *Oratio ad Graecos*, c. 2: (Apollo) Αἰακίδῃ θρησκεύοντι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον οὐκ ἐμαντεύσατο."

τὸν φίλον. Hyacinthus, the son of Amyclas and Diomedes, was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus. He was indifferent, however, to the latter; and Zephyrus, incensed at his coldness, blew upon a discus thrown by Apollo in their games, turning it so

that it struck the head of Hyacinthus. He was killed by the blow.

Κάγῳ τὸ Φοῖβου . . . τὸν ἐμὸν, *And I hoped the divine mouth of Phoebus was truthful, great in prophetic art. But the same one singing, he present at the feast, he saying these things, he is the one having killed my son.* Fragment of an unknown play of Aeschylus. "These verses have commonly been referred either to the Psychostasia itself, or to the last play of that tetralogy of which the Psychostasia was a part."—Otto.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCERNING PRETENDED ALLEGORICAL EXPLANATIONS.

95. ἴσως, *perhaps*.

πλάνη ποιητικὴ, *poetic error*, i. e., poetic fancy.

φυσικὸς . . . τις . . . τοιοῦτος λόγος, *some such natural explanation.* τοιοῦτος = *hujusmodi*, and looks forward to the lines quoted from Empedocles.

Ζεὺς ἀργῆς . . . βρότειον, *Jove (is) the shining one, Hera the life-bearer, with Aïdoneus and Nestis, who bathes with tears the human fount.* Ζεὺς, Ἥρη (Juno), Ἀἰδωνεύς (Pluto), Νῆστις, are here mentioned as symbolizing the four elements.

φερέσβιος, comp. φέρω + βίος.

κρουνῶμα βρότειον, i. e., the eyes.

EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a distinguished philosopher, physician, and poet, flourished about 440 B.C. In philosophy he was eclectic, combining the elements of the Eleatic and Heraclitic philosophy. He supposes four eternal original materials, which were independent and underived from each other. These are the four elements, the theory of which Empedocles is said to have originated. Two moving powers, strife and friendship, work to mingle and divide the elements and give them form. The doctrinal poem concerning nature is preserved only in fragments, but tolerably complete, as it was so liberally quoted by ancient writers. See Diogenes Laertius, viii., 76, where these very verses are attributed to Empedocles.

96. στοιχεῖα δὲ ταῦτα, *and these are elements*. Plutarch, commenting on the views of Empedocles, says: Δία μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὴν Ζῆσιν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα, Ἦραν δὲ φερέσβιον τὸν αἶρα, τὴν γῆν τὸν Ἀἰδωνέα, Νῆστιν δὲ καὶ κροῦνωμα βρότειον, οἰοῖναι τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ.

τὸ πῦρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ἀήρ. It would seem that ἡ γῆ should be added. So, at the close, Νῆστις is not mentioned.

διακριθείσης, *separated into parts*.

ἡ τούτων, κ. τ. λ., *the constitution and origin of these*.

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ . . . τοῖσιν, *Fire, water, earth, and the gentle height of air, and harmony with these*. Fragments of Emped. "Before the words Καὶ φιλή μετὰ τοῖσιν in Sextus Empiricus stands the verse Νῆκος ἂν οὐλόμενον δίχα τῶν ἀτάλαντον ἀπάντη, which Stephanus thinks was overlooked by Athenagoras. But since Athenagoras in this passage reduces the opinions of Empedocles to two principles—viz., harmony, which controls, and those elements which harmony controls—this verse was doubtless intentionally omitted by Athenagoras."—Otto.

97. Ἄ χωρὶς τῆς φιλίας, κ. τ. λ., *Which things without harmony are not able to abide, being brought to confusion by strife*. The antecedent of Ἄ is ταῦτα in the following interrogative clause. φιλίας, 404; H., 579, s; G., 174.

Ἀρχικὸν ἢ φιλία, κ. τ. λ., *Harmony has an aptitude to govern, according to Empedocles; things compounded are governed, and that which governs has the dominion*.

τοῦ τε ἀρχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος δύναμιν, *the power of the governed and the governing*.

λήσομεν ἑαυτοὺς . . . ποιοῦντες, *we shall escape our own notice making perishable, fluctuating, and changeable matter equal to the uncreated, etc.; i. e., we shall unawares make, etc.* λήσομεν is the verb of the clause, but the chief idea is contained in ποιοῦντες. The complementary participle is often best translated by an independent verb, while its leading verb is translated by an adverb. See 677, f; H., 796, 801; G., 279, 2.

καὶ διαπαντὸς συμφώνῃ, *and ever self-accordant*.

98. Ζεὺς ἡ Ζεῖουσα οὐσία, *Zeus the fervid being*. See also ch. vi., s. 26. As in the case of Ἦρα and Ποσειδῶν, an etymological connec-

tion is feigned between the name of the god and that element or principle in nature which symbolizes the god. Ζεύς (for Δεῦς, which appears in the Boeotian as Δεύς) is traced through such forms as Διός, Deus, Jovis, Jupiter (Jov-piter), Dies, and Sanskrit Dēva-s, *god*, and the verb-root div, *to shine*. Compare also Juno, for Jovino; Diana, for Djana; Janus; O. H. G. *Zio*, *Tues-day*. ζέω, on the other hand, is akin to Sansk. *jas*; O. H. G. *jēsan*, *gēsan*; Engl. *yeast*.

καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος εἰ αὐτὸ, κ. τ. λ., *the name signifying this if it be joined to itself*.

αὐτῷ ἐπισυνάπτοιτο, i. e., “si literae alio modo (ἦρα et ἀνρ) conjungantur.”—Gesner.

Ποσειδῶν ἢ πόσις; “Τί γάρ ἐστι πρότερον Ποσειδῶν ἢ ὕγρά τις οὐσία ἐκ τῆς πόσεως ὀνοματοποιουμένη.”—Clem. Alex. in Protr., c. 5, s. 64.

Ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως φυσιολογοῦσιν, *But others explain otherwise*, i. e., explain by different allegorical applications to nature.

ἀρσενόθηνον, *masculine-feminine*. The word is exegetical of διφυῆ.

οἱ δὲ καιρὸν, *others (call him) the season*. οἱ δὲ stands opposed to οἱ μὲν above.

εἰς εὐκρασίαν τρέποντα, *turning into a favorable temperature*; Otto, Lat. transl., “quae tempus serenat.” εὐκρασίαν, comp. εὐ + κέραν-νυμι.

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν, κ. τ. λ. He now begins his answer to the views of the Stoics. μὲν looks forward to δὲ in the 99th section: Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας.

εἰ, . . . νομίσετε. He addresses them directly. Antoninus, it will be remembered, was a Stoic philosopher.

συγκρίματα δὲ ἴσα . . . ἀλλαγῇ, *and the change of matter equal compounds*. The sense is obscure. Suffr. Petrus suggests to supply ἀπεργάζετο, or some similar word of suitable meaning. Maran says: “The sense would be the same if we should read ἴσα τῇ τῆς ὕλης ἀλλαγῇ.” Otto's Latin transl. is, “Totidem autem corpora concrecere quot materiae mutationes fiunt.” So that the meaning is taken to be as many compounds as there are changes of matter.

τὸ πνεῦμα, the subject of the infinitive μεταλλάττειν.

ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὄνομα, *another and another name*, i. e., a diversity of names. "The Stoics teach that God is a spirit pervading the universe, called by different names according to the diversity of forms through which he is manifested in nature."—Otto. See ch. vi., s. 26.

σῶμα μὲν τὰ εἶδη, κ. τ. λ.; εἶδη is the subject. τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης, i. e., "The parts of the universe, the forms which matter assumes, as the air, earth, the stars."—Gesner.

φθειρομένων τῶν στοιχείων, gen. abs.

συμφαρῆναι; the subject is τὰ ὀνόματα.

εἶδει, 449; H., 606; G., 186.

99. Ὡν οὖν σωμάτων, κ. τ. λ., *Who, then, can believe these to be gods the change of which bodies is corruption according to matter.* σωμάτων limits παραλλαγή, 435; H., 558; G., 167.

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας; δὲ looks back to μὲν in s. 98. πρὸς shows the relation between φάμεν and τοὺς λέγοντας, and is repeated in πρὸς τοίνυν τούτους.

τὴν μὲν συλλαμβάνουσιν, *and this one* (viz., Rhea) *conceiving*. The clause is incorporated as the object of λέγοντας, and we should expect the infinitive; see, however, 657, d, k.

τὸν δὲ γεννῶντα, *and him begetting*, viz., Kronos.

καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν τομήν, κ. τ. λ., *and that the cutting out of the genitals is the intercourse of the male with the female.* ἀναγκαῖα = pudenda, "which signification Camerarius also has used in describing the parts of the human body."—Gesner.

ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα, *having in himself desire*, i. e., cupiditas. ἔχοντα in agreement with ἀνδρωπον.

Ἀφροδίτῃ, i. e., Venus. According to the myth, she was born of the foam (ἀφρός) when the genitals of Coelus were thrown into the sea. Another epithet of Venus, Φιλομήδεια, points to the same story. It occurs in a line of Hesiod's Theogony:

Ἥ δὲ φιλομήδει ὅτι μηδείων ἐξεφαάνθη.

φθείρουσαν ἔμψυχα καὶ ἄψυχα, *destroying animate and inanimate things.* φθείρουσαν in agreement with τροπῆν.

καιρῶν, i. e., the four seasons of the year.

οὔτε ἄρα ὁ Κρόνος, κ. τ. λ., *neither therefore is Kronos nor any image of him divine.*

τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰδωλον. "By these words it is not meant to designate a statue formed of brass or wood, but another form (species) under which Saturn was represented, or that image of time to which his deeds were usually attributed. So Tertullian, *Ad Nat.*, ii., c. 12: "Aut Saturnus fuit aut tempus. Quomodo Saturnus, si tempus? aut si Saturnus, quomodo tempus? Utrumque enim non potes corporale in eo confirmare. Quid autem prohibuit tempus coli in sua qualitate, et non in specie hominis; aut fabulam hominis in sua specie, non in temporis qualitate? Quid sibi vult intellectio ista, nisi foedas materias mentitis argumentationibus colorare? Saturnum neque ideo qui . . . d . . . tempus [h. e. neque adeo qui deum dicis das esse tempus] aut dum eum tempus facis, jam nec hominem vis fuisse."—Maran.

100. διὸ καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή; *wherefore both sister and wife.*

οὔτε μεταβάλλει; the subject is τὸ θεῖον, and this is the major premise in the syllogism. The conclusion is omitted, viz., therefore Jupiter is not divine.

101. ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμῖν, *to trouble you.* ὑμῖν, 453; H., 597; G., 184, 2.

ἀμεινον, i. e., better even than the writer himself; but see 514, a; H., 662.

πεφυσιολογηκότων, *those having explained by nature.*

ἣν φρόνησιν, κ. τ. λ., *whom they call the intelligence pervading all things.*

ἣν φύσιν αἰῶνος λέγουσιν, *whom they call the birth of time.* αἰῶνος (Lat., *aevum*), a *period*, or *age*.

The name Isis is explained by some to mean "ancient." Plutarch gives as the inscription on one of the statues of the goddess, "Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὃν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψε," *I am all that has been, that is, that shall be, and none among mortals has yet taken off my veil.* Again he says, "Ἡ γὰρ Ἴσις ἐστὶ μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θεῶν καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσης γενέσεως· καθὼς τιθῆναι καὶ πανδεχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυριώννυμος κέκληται, διὰ τὸ πάσας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τρεπομένη μορφὰς δέχεσθαι καὶ ἰδέας."

οὗ σφαγέντος, κ. τ. λ., *who having been murdered by Typhon his*

brother, Isis, seeking his limbs with Orus her son, and finding them, honored them with burial.

102. ἀποκίπτουσι τῷ λόγῳ Θεωρητοῦ Θεοῦ, *they fail of God to be perceived by the reason*; i. e., who can only be perceived by the reason. The invisible things of God are νοούμενα (Romans i., 20). The idea of God comes at once by a necessary movement of reason on the creation; but when we do not attend to these natural intuitions, but only to the world of sense (*Ἄνω γὰρ καὶ κάτω περὶ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης στρεφόμενοι*), the conviction of a personal God becomes obscured. We then rest in some form appreciable to sense. Athenagoras here touches a vital truth, as important to be urged and remembered now as it was in the days of the old philosophy. If the divine intelligence is defined away, or neglected, the study of material phenomena, whether scientific or unscientific, tends to rest in them and go no further. Bacon, *Essay on Atheism*. See s. 15.

Θεοποιούσιν; so Lactantius, *Instit. Div.*, ii., c. 5: "Qui cum opera dei mirarentur, coelum cum luminibus variis, terram cum campis et montibus, maria cum fluminibus et stagnis et fontibus, earum rerum admiratione obstupefacti et ipsius artificis obliti, quem videre non poterant, ejus opera venerari et colere coeperunt, nec unquam intelligere quiverunt quanto major quantoque mirabilior sit qui illa fecit ex nihilo."

ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ὀνόματα, *other names at other times*, i. e., sometimes one name, sometimes another.

τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σποράν; "So also Tibullus, lib. i., Eleg. 8: 'Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris. Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum, Primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae.' Osiris was probably the Sol of the Egyptians; and since, according to the most ancient Grecian theology, Bacchus is the same with Sol, Herodotus could truly say (lib. ii., c. 42), *Ὅσιριν Διόνυσον εἶναι*."—Lindner.

τῶν μελῶν, τῶν καρπῶν. These words limit ἀνευρέσει, obj. gen., 444; H., 565; G., 167, 3.

ἐπλεχθῆναι τῇ Ἰσιδι, *that it is exclaimed to Isis*. The reference is to a certain ceremony in the mysteries.

Εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν, *We have found, we hail thee*.

κεραυνόν. Most editions have Κεραυνόν, but Lindner observes that it refers to the lightning by which Semele was consumed (Ovid, *Metam.*, iii., 308). There is no need of increasing the number of the gods by a new divinity, whose name was Cerauno.

103. Καίτοι, *and yet.*

τοὺς μύθους θεοποιούντες, *making the myths divine*, viz., making them refer to actual deities.

οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἷς, κ. τ. λ., *not perceiving that, by what arguments they make a defense for the gods, they confirm the statements made concerning them*; i. e., what I have said concerning them, viz., that if the gods are referred to nature they cease to be gods.

ἐπ' αὐτοῖς may be rendered *against them*, without, however, any essential change in the meaning.

ἵν' ἡ πρὸς ταύτας, κ. τ. λ., *that the abominable intercourse of Jupiter with them should be of the earth and air.* γ, 624, a; H., 739; G., 216.

104. ἀποκίπτοντες, κ. τ. λ., *coming short of the majesty of God.*

μεγέθους, 405; H., 580; G., 171.

ὑπερκύβαι τῷ λόγῳ, *to mount (on high) with their reason.* Construe ὑπερκύβαι after δυνάμενοι.

συντετήκασιν, *they pine away.*

τροπὰς, *changes.*

ναῦν, the object of ἀγοί; *as if any one should put the ship he sailed in*, etc.

κυβερνήτου, 406; H., 622; G., 191, 1.

105. οὐδὲν πλέον νεώς (sc. ὑφελος), lit., *no further use of a ship.*

πᾶσιν ἡσκημένην, *fitted up with all things.*

διακεκοσμημένων = ordines adornata, *well or beautifully ordered.*

προνοίας, 404, 405.

πλευσεῖται. An interesting philological note occurs in the margin of one MS. here, apparently added by a later hand. It explains this lengthened Doric future as a desiderative: "Δωρικῶς τὸ πλευσεῖται, ἡ ἐπιθυμητικὸν ῥῆμα παρὰ τὸ μέλλον παρηγμένον, ὡς τύπτω, τύψω, τυψῶ, εἰς, εἴ, ἡγουν τύπτειν ἐπιθυμῶ· οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ πλέω, πλεύσω, πλευσῶ καὶ πλευσοῦμαι, πλέειν ὀρέγομαι καὶ ποδῶ."

But a comparison with Sanskrit futures suggests rather that the Doric, in which the tense sign is σ or $\sigma\epsilon$, is an older form, the common Greek having lost all but the σ by phonetic decay. See 305, d; 325, b; H., 377, D; G., 122, 2; and for the desiderative formation from the future, 379, a; H., 472, f.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OPINIONS OF THALES AND PLATO.

106. *Εἰποῖτε ἄν*, *you may say*, 636, 1; H., 752; G., 226, 2.

συνέσει, *in understanding*, 467, b; H., 609; G., 188, note 1. Athenagoras is very complimentary, that he may gain favorable hearing with the emperors.

Τίμι οὖν τῷ λόγῳ, *For what reason, then*. These are the words of the objector anticipated.

Οὐ γὰρ εἰδός, *for it is not likely*.

τοῦ κινουέντος, 405.

Τὸ, the article with *γίνεσθαι*; *That certain effects are produced in (various) places, cities, and nations in the name of idols*.

οὐ μὴν . . . νομοῦμεν; very emphatic; *we shall by no means consider those having worked in either case as gods*.

εἰ ὠφελήθησαν, κ. τ. λ. Maran here remarks that Tatian (c. 18), on the authority of Justin, speaking of these powers of demons, says that "they restore to their former health men whom they had afflicted, by removing the disease." In this respect they are not unlike robbers, who restore for a reward those whom they have captured. Tertullian follows Justin and Tatian when he says (Apol., c. 22), "They first inflict injury; then, for the display of miraculous power, prescribe remedies; after which they cease injuring, and are believed to have cured." To the same effect are the remarks of Minucius Felix (c. 27) and Cyprian (De Idolor. Vanit., c. 4), who say that the demons seem to heal by remitting the injury they have caused. Lactantius also (ii., c. 15): "They think that they benefit when they cease to afflict, who, in fact, can only afflict." Eusebius (Praep. Ev., v., c. 2) says that "demons deceive men by many other arts as well as by healing their bodies, which they first secretly affect with disease by their pe-

cular demoniacal power, then restore them free from their sufferings by withdrawing their hurtful influence."

Among all these writers it is agreed that diseases are sometimes inflicted by demons, nor can this be doubtful to those who reverence the Scriptures; but when they say that the sufferings which they inflict are also healed by the demons, they understand it with reference to injuries inflicted and also removed by some vain deception; for they do not say that diseases really affecting the bodily functions, and producing prostration, are healed by the mere removal of demoniacal influence. Besides, the same writers declare, as we shall see in ch. xxvii., that all these effects are for the most part produced by idle visions and dreams. Irenaeus doubts that the magi are able to cast out demons which they permit to enter any one, or that they can even heal diseases inflicted by the permission of a god; "for neither are they able to give sight to the blind, nor hearing to the deaf, nor to cast out the evil influence of demons, except that which they themselves inflict—if, indeed, they are able to do that."

107. *τινες οἱ ἐνεργοῦντες, κ. τ. λ., and who are the ones producing the effects, usurping their names. ἐνεργοῦντες, 678.*

ἐπιβατεύοντες, stepping on, taking possession of.

δνόμασι, 452; 460.

ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐξηγήκαμεν, we have thoroughly examined. ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς, periphrasis for ἀκριβῶς. ἐπὶ is so used also with the gen. See ἐπὶ, Liddell and Scott.

Ἀναγκάϊον (sc. ἱστί, 572; H., 508). The subject is προσχρήσασθαι.

τινες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς, κ. τ. λ. The substantive verb is also suppressed in this clause; so in the next, καὶ ὅτι μὴ θεοί. Both clauses are substantives, and objects of δεικνύνειν.

108. *Πρῶτος. "Thales is not called first because he was in all probability the first of the seven wise men, but because he discussed such questions before any other."—Lindner. "Sit Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui primus omnium de coelestibus disputavit."—Minuc. Fel., c. 19.*

διαρεῖ . . . εἰς θεόν, εἰς δαίμονας, κ. τ. λ.; Gesner suggests that

τὸ θεῖον be supplied after διαίρει; *divides* (superior beings) *into god, demons, and heroes.*

ᾄγει, *he recognizes.*

οὐσίας ψυχικάς, *intelligent beings; beings possessed of souls.*

ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθάς, κ. τ. λ., (that) *the good* (heroes) *on the one hand are the good* (souls, i. e., the souls of good men), etc.

109. Πλάτων δέ; δέ looks back to πρῶτος, s. 108. Πλάτων, the subject of τέμνει.

τὰ ἄλλα ἐπέχων, *withholding as to other points*, i. e., withholding his assent.

καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ, κ. τ. λ., *and those produced by the uncreated, for the adornment of heaven.*

αὐτὸς ἀπαξιῶν λέγειν, κ. τ. λ., *not thinking fit to speak himself, he thinks that they ought to be listened to who have spoken about them.*

110. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἐκόνους; quoted from Plato (Timaeus, p. 40, D. E.). The same passage is cited by Clement (Stromata, v., c. 13), who refers it to the holy prophets; and by Eusebius, Praep. Ev., ii., c. 7; xiii., cc. 1, 14.

μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἡμᾶς, *is more than belongs to us*, i. e., is beyond our powers.

τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, *those before having spoken.* τοῖς, 452; 456; H., 595, b; G., 184, 2.

ἐγγόνους, *descendants*; in agreement with τοῖς, 393; H., 499; G., 137.

εἰδόντων, 675; H., 593; G., 183. All the MSS. of Athenagoras have εἰδότων, though Plato has εἰδόσιν. See 70, t.

κάνπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων, κ. τ. λ., *even though they speak without probable or convincing proofs.*

φασκόντων, *professing*; gen. abs.

ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν, *we must believe them following the custom.* For the construction of the verbal, see 682, Rule Y (b); H., 804, b; 805; G., 281, 2. νόμῳ, 449, s. νόμος = consuetudo, mos. "Mos enim fert, ac verum est, ut his qui de rebus domesticis verba faciunt majorem fidem habeamus quam qui de alienis." —Lindner.

κατ' ἐκείνους, according to them, viz., as they do. καὶ before ἡμῖν is wanting in the text of Plato.

ἡ γένεσις ἐχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω, let the origin (of the gods) be, and be declared.

111. καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, and whoever were with these, i. e., and the rest, not stopping to name them all.

ἴσμεν, 46.

ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους, and yet other descendants of these.

112. Ἀρ' οὖν ὁ τὸν αἰδῖον νοῦν, κ. τ. λ., Did then he, having contemplated the eternal intelligence, and God, apprehended by the reason, etc. Ἀρ', interrog. = num. ὁ, viz., Plato. The verb is ἐνόμισεν.

τὰ ἐπισυμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ, his attributes—the things harmonizing in him and constituting his being. See ch. xxiv., s. 118: “ὁ (τὸ ἀγαθόν) κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ συννάρχων, ὡς χροὰ σώματι.”

τὸ ὄντως ὄν, his real being.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποχέμενον, shed forth from him, 412; H., 579, 582; G., 176.

ὅπερ; the antecedent is τὸ ἀγαθόν.

καὶ περὶ πρώτης δυνάμεως, and (having discoursed) concerning primal power.

καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκεν πάντα, and that all things are for his sake. ἐκείνου, viz., God; 429.

δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ, κ. τ. λ., (that he is) the second (moving) about the seconds, and the third about the thirds. Pseudo-Plat. Epist., ii., p. 312, D. E. “This most difficult passage has baffled all editors, while most, along with Gesner, make conjectures from the words (Timaeus, p. 40) καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον κρατῆρα . . . ἀλλὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα, to which they suppose Athenagoras refers. But this pseudo-Platonic passage is also commended by Justin Martyr (Apol. I., c. 60), Clement Al. (l. c., v., c. 14, 104), Eusebius (l. c., xi., c. 17, 20), and others.”—Otto.

γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ; in apposition to τῶν αἰσθητῶν, 393; H., 499; G., 137; concerning those who are said to have been produced from sensible things, viz., earth and heaven.

113. γεννᾶν καὶ ἀποκύσκεισθαι θεοὺς, *that gods beget, and are brought forth.*

ἐπομένων, κ. τ. λ., *ends following upon things being* (beginning); i. e., "quippe quum ea quae ortum habent finis sequatur." ἐπομένων τελῶν, 674, 675; H., 593; G., 183.

τούτου, viz., the reason just stated; 408; H., 585; G., 175.

ἀβασανίστως, *without examination*; a modifier of παρα δεχομένους. With μεταπεῖσαι, supply ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον ἐνόμισεν.

μείζον ἢ καὶ ἑαυτὸν = "majus viribus suis esse."

οὔτε μαθεῖν οὔτε, κ. τ. λ., *neither being able to understand nor to teach that gods are begotten.*

114. αὐτῷ, *by him*, viz., Plato.

Ὁ δὲ μέγας ἡγεμὼν . . . δαιμόνων. Plato, Phaedrus, p. 246; E. See Just. Mart., Cohort. ad Gent., c. 31.

πτηνὸν ἄρμα, *a winged car.*

τῷ δὲ ἑπεται, κ. τ. λ., *and a host of gods and demons follow him.*

τῷ, 449; H., 602, s; G., 186.

οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ . . . Διός, *it is not of that Zeus said to be from Kronos.*

τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων, *to the maker of the universe*; 444; H., 565; G., 167, 3.

115. ἐτέρῳ σημαντικῷ προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχων, κ. τ. λ., *not being able to designate him by another suitable (name), he employed* (προσεχρήσατο) *the popular* (δημῳδῇ) *name.* σημαντικῷ (sc. ὀνόματι), dat. of means, 466; H., 606; G., 188. So ὀνόματι below, after προσεχρήσατο; 466, b; H., 607, a; G., 188, note 2.

εἰς σαφήνειαν, *for distinctness.*

ὅτι μὴ δυνατόν, κ. τ. λ. Athenagoras quotes from the passage here referred to in ch. vi., s. 23, viz.: τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. Plato, Timaeus, p. 28, C. "The words κατὰ δύναμιν Gesner would expunge, unless ἀνθρωπίνην be understood; but the adjective would at least be ἀνθρωπικὴν, according to the custom of Athenagoras."—Otto. "Plato finds the difficulty of making God known εἰς πάντας not in the infinite majesty of God, nor in the weakness of the teacher, but in the depraved disposition of the hearers, whom instruction of this kind would injure. Hence

Athenagoras, from the sentiment of Plato, concludes that it is impossible—i. e., exceedingly perilous—to make God known to all as far as he might be made known (pro viribus), or, which is the same thing, to bring any thing concerning God before the common people more profound than their intelligence could grasp.”—Maran.

τὸ μέγας, viz., as an epithet.

τοῦ χαμᾶθεν, *from the earthly*. χαμᾶθεν, from χαμαί, Lat. humus.

τοῦ νεωτέρου, in apposition to τοῦ γενητοῦ.

οὐρανοῦ, γῆς, 408 ; H., 585 ; G., 175.

Κρητῶν, *Cretans*. They were Cretans to whom Rhea secretly gave Jupiter to be reared.

ἐξέκλεψαν, *stole*.

τοῦ πατρὸς, 434 ; H., 656, b ; G., 191.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ANGELS, SATAN, GIANTS.

116. Why need I recall and expound to you, when I can say, If the poets and philosophers did not talk as we do about God and matter, and their nature, you might worry us ?

κεκινηκότας, *having studied* ; Lat., *verso* ; so Plato, κεκινημένος, *versatus*.

ἔχοντι agrees with μοι understood, personal object after δεῖ.

τούτων, the gods of the vulgar ; like Lat. *iste*, contemptuous.

117. We believe in God, Father, Son, and Spirit, and in other powers acting through matter—one of them, i. e., Satan, opposed to God.

118. Not that any thing can be opposed to God as excluding his existence or withstanding his power, but only opposed to goodness, an attribute of God, though not a part of his substance.

ἐναντίον ; this description of Satan as a created spirit, having matter put in his charge, is quoted by Methodius, bishop of Tyre (A.D. 311).

H

119. The office of angels is to care for particulars, while God directs the whole. This passage also is cited by Methodius. Compare Just. Mart., Apol. II., 5, and Plato in the *Timaeus*.

σύστασις, *constitution*, function, office.

120. The angels are free agents, like men.

121. Some angels kept their first estate, others—i. e., the controller of matter and others—abused their nature and power, and fell into impure love of virgins. Compare Just. Mart., *Tryph.*, 140.

122. Hence sprang the giants, of whom the poets have told false tales with a likeness to the truth. Genesis vi., 2. In this interpretation the ante-Nicene fathers agree, except Julius Africanus.

ἴσμεν, κ. τ. λ. A verse from Hesiod, *Theog.*, 27.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WORKS OF THE FALLEN ANGELS, THE GIANTS, AND THE PRINCE OF MATTER ARE OPPOSED TO GOOD, AND HAVE LED THE POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS TO DENY A DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

124. Πολλάκι, κ. τ. λ.; from an unknown play of Euripides. A similar thought is in Hecuba (486 sq.) and Claudian:

"Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
Curarent superi terras an nullus inesset
Rector et incerto fluerent mortalia casu."

125. Πῶς, κ. τ. λ.; from an unknown play.

126. Ἀριστοτέλη. Aristotle's opinion that the providence of God extends to the lunar sphere, but the earth is exposed to chance, is in *De Mundo*, 6. Eusebius thinks Aristotle misinterpreted Psalm xxxv., 6! *Praep. Ev.*, xiii., 13, 4.

καίτοι, κ. τ. λ., though the eternal purposes extend to us; the view of Athenagoras.

Ἡ γῆ, κ. τ. λ., Euripides, Cycl., 332 sq.

τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους, the providence *in regard to particulars* turning out to the deserving according to truth. Compare s. 119.

127. Since the influences of demons produce disorderly acts, and move men discordantly, many have thought all things move by chance, not knowing that every thing is produced by reason and moves orderly, and that man is well ordered in his natural constitution, his body, and his death, but each acts according to his free nature and the influences of Satan and his followers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE DEMONS ACT UNDER THE NAMES OF THE MEN WORSHIPED AS GODS, AND ALLURE TO THE HEATHEN RITES.

129. ἡ ἐνέργεια πίστις, the operation of each of them is *proof* that those usurping the names are demons.

Ῥέαν. "Deūm mater et amavit formosum adolescentem et eundem cum pellice deprehensum exsecutis virilibus semivirum reddidit, et ideo nunc sacra eius a Gallis sacerdotibus celebrantur."—Lactantius, Inst. I., 21.

Ἀρεμν. See Latin Dict., under Aricia. The chief-priest of Diana Aricina was a fugitive slave, who kept his place till another fugitive slew him with a sword. Ovid, Fast., iii., 271. For Diana Taurica, see Ovid, Trist., iv., 4, 63, and the Dictionaries.

Όταν, κ. τ. λ.; from an unknown tragedian. It is mentioned by a scholiast on Soph. Antig., 620; Barnes gives it to Euripides. Compare the Latin proverb, "Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat."

130. That those who allure worshipers are different from those to whom images are set up is shown in Troas and Parium.

Νερυλλίνου. Of Neryllinus nothing further is known.

Ἀλεξάνδρου. Many editors follow the suggestion of the quotation below from Homer, and understand Alexander the son of

Priam to be meant; others better think the citation has crept in from a marginal note of some reader. Tillemont thinks Alexander Pseudomantis, whose life Lucian wrote, is intended; but he was buried in Abonitichos (Ἀβώνου ρεῖχος). It was rather some unknown pretender.

Πρωτεύς. Peregrinus Proteus is meant, the Cynic philosopher, whose life was written by Lucian. Compare Tertullian, *Ad Mart.*, iv., and the *Class. Dict.*

εἴπερ, *if indeed*, not "*since indeed*." Such things are not real ornaments.

δι' αὐτὰ, on account of the healing and oracles.

131. Δύσπαρι, κ. τ. λ. Homer, *Iliad*, iii., 39. See 4th note above.

Τί δαί χαλκός, κ. τ. λ. Compare *Epist. ad Diogn.*, 2, in *Just. Mart.*

Ἀμασις. Amasis reproved those who belittled him because he was humbly born by comparing himself to a certain foot-pan, which had been turned into a god, and was worshiped with singular veneration. *Herod.*, ii., 163.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW DEMONS GAIN INFLUENCE AND HONOR.

133. The soul can exercise the imagination independently of the reason, and produce various images, material or spiritual. It may mingle with the Spirit of matter, and then the exercise of the imagination on material objects is excited beyond reason, and the longing for sensuous images rises to insanity.

134. Such souls not dwelling on truth or God, the demons supply with images and empty visions, and so take possession of their thoughts and lead them to idolatry. And when the immortal soul in the true exercise of reason predicts the future, or heals, the demons claim the glory. For similar views, see Tertullian, *Apol.*, xxii.; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.*, v., 2; Minucius Felix, 27; Cyprian, *De Van. Idol.*; Lactantius, II., 14. The fathers did not attribute good offices to demons. "*Nihil aliud possunt quam nocere*," *Lact.*, II., 15. So *Just. Mart.* and the rest.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GODS, ACCORDING TO THEIR NAMES, WERE MEN.

135. τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. This letter is referred to by Minucius Felix, Octav., xxi., 4, and other fathers, but is spurious, though Plutarch mentions a letter from Alexander to his mother. Herodotus tells of his visit to Thebes, but Alexander never was there.

136. Ἦδη ὧν . . . γλῶσσαν, Herod., Hist., ii., 144. Herodotus hardly says that the gods had been men—rather that the gods became men. The following quotations from Herodotus have slight variations from the received texts:

αὐτοῦς, Herod. πάντας.

οὐκ ἰόντας, Herod. οἰκέοντας.

ὑστερον, Herod. ὕστατον.

Ὀσίρεως, Herod. Ὀσίριος.

137. The others and the last king of Egypt were such as have been described.

Παρά . . . Θεῶν, Herod., ii., 50.

Ἀπόλλωνα . . . γενέσθαι, Herod., ii., 156, where are found Ἴσιος, Λητοῦν, αὐτοῖσι, σώτειραν.

138. Τοὺς . . . γράφουσι, Herod., ii., 41.

140. Τὰ . . . ἐλάχιστα, Herod., ii., 3.

141. Ἑρμῆς. Milton's "thrice great Hermes," the reputed author of many Greek works of the early Christian period, by some called an Egyptian priest.

συνῆπτον, ascribe to these (characters) the attribute eternal. There are different readings.

Ἀπολλόδωρος, Mythologicus.

142. Ἐν . . . λέγειν, Herod., ii., 61, where are found μὲν after τύπονται, and τρόπον omitted.

143. Εἰσὶ . . . Αἰγύπτιοι, Herod., ii., 170.

αἱ ταφαί, *the burial-place* of Osiris.

Λίμνη. A clause is here omitted from Herodotus: Καὶ ἐν τῇ τεμένει ὄβελοι ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι. There are other unimportant changes.

144. Ἐπεάν . . . ὀνομάζειν, Herod., ii., 86.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE POETS SPEAK OF THE GODS AS HAVING BEEN MEN.

145. Σχέτλιος . . . αὐτόν, Homer, Odys., xxi., 28 sq. Homer was an authority in history as well as in poetry.

αὐτόν, Iphitus, whom Hercules, disregarding the gods and the rites of hospitality, slew for his mares.

146. Πατήρ . . . ὀρίνων, Hesiod, Fragments.

σὺν ὀρίνων, i. e., *συνορίνων*,

Ἄλλα . . . μόρον, Pindar, Pyth., iii., 54, 55, 57, 58. Athenagoras omits a line, as not needed for his argument: ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι ἤδη ἀλωκότα, *tempted to bring back from death a man* (Hippolytus) *already captive* to death.

Κάκτινον, Aesculapius.

147. Ἡ θεοί, disjunctive with ἡ ἄνθρωποι, they were either gods, and did not care for gold or die, or they were men.

Ὡ . . . παῖδες, quoted by Seneca, Ep., 115, from the Bellerophon of Euripides.

148. πόντου, κ. τ. λ., Σεμνός, κ. τ. λ., from the Ino of Euripides. Supply after ἐπώνυμον, καλέσουσι; after αὐτῆς supply θεὸν δοξάζουσι γεγονέναι. For Ino and her son Melicertes, their change to gods and change of name, see Apollod., iii., 4, 3, and Ovid, Metam., iv., 538 sq., and the Class. Dict.

CHAPTER XXX.

THAT MEN CAME TO BE CALLED GODS BECAUSE OF THEIR
SOVEREIGNTY OR STRENGTH OR ART.

149. For Semiramis and her mythical character, see Smith's Class. Dict. Athenagoras thinks the Syrians must have worshiped her on account of her mother Derceto, already esteemed a goddess of Ascalon; but the story in Ctesias is that she took her flight to heaven in the form of a dove.

Σιβυλλα. Justin Martyr also mentions the Sibyl as referred to by Plato in the Phaedrus. He also mentions her in Theages.

150. καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων, Oracc., Sibyll., iii., 108–113, ed. C. Alexandre. The passage, abridged, is given in Tertull., Ad Nation., ii., 12.

πρώτιστοι; others προφέριστοι.

151. Ἀντίνοῦς. Justin Martyr, Apol. I., 29, says that Antinous was worshiped because the emperor Hadrian commanded it.

152. Κρητὲς . . . Θάνας, Callimachus, Hymn. Iovis, 8 sq.

ἄνα, king, Zeus, Jupiter.

τὸ ἄντρον, the cave where Zeus was born. Callimachus is rebuked for accepting the birth and rejecting the death of Zeus. Only the unbegotten are eternal.

Ἡ ἄπιστοι . . . ἢ οὐκέρ' εἰσί, either the myths are incredible, and so the worship idle, or the persons, who are truly described as being born, loving, murdering, and the like, have ceased to live, as they were once non-existent.

153. What reason is there for believing the good part of the statement of the poets and rejecting the bad? We should rather believe, when those who are trying to describe persons as divine tell stories of their weaknesses, that the truth will come out.

Here ends the answer to the charge of Atheism.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OPENING OF THE ANSWER TO THE CHARGES OF OEDIPODEAN
INTERCOURSE AND THYESTEAN FEASTS.

154. Persons charge these crimes to justify to themselves their hate against Christians, to frighten them from their way of life, to excite magistrates against them. But you know that vice always wars upon virtue.

παίζοντες agrees with the subject of *λογοποιούσιν*.

εἰδότες, those knowing, e.g., you imperial philosophers. Comp. the introduction to *De Resurrectione*.

155. Instances of the war on virtue.

τριακοσίους. The exact number is questioned.

ἡλαίνετο. The banishment of Heraclitus and Democritus is not, perhaps, mentioned elsewhere in the old authorities. Diogenes Laertius mentions the suspicion of madness against Democritus.

156. I will answer these charges, though you know that those whose life is guided by the wish to be blameless before God will cherish no thought of sin.

ὑπερφρονοῦντες agrees with the subject of *ἴστε*.

οἷς has *τούτους* for its antecedent.

157. If we believed that we should live this life only, we might be suspected; but we believe in another life, near God, who is a witness of this life, and our judge.

μετὰ Θεοῦ, in the presence of God; *σὺν Θεῷ*, with the aid of God.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF FORNICATION.

158. It is not strange that our accusers should tell such stories about us as they do about their gods; but if they are to hate us for them, they ought to hate their gods the same.

τό . . . μίγνυσθαι, incest.

οὗτος, Thyestes. The Oracle declared that his son by his daughter Pelopia should avenge him upon his brother Atreus. See Aegisthus in Class. Dict.

159. A lustful look is forbidden to us. We must treat our neighbors as ourselves.

Ὁ . . . αὐτοῦ, Matt. v., 28.

ὅς . . . ἔχειν, *which makes ourselves and our neighbors to have (the same) measure of justice.*

Others read for καὶ, πρὸς, *to hold ourselves for our neighbors.*

160. We regard each other therefore as sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers; but we are enjoined to the greatest care of the chastity of our conduct.

ἀδελφούς καὶ ἀδελφάς. The use of these names was interpreted in a lewd sense. "In erotica Romanorum dictione frater et soror euphemistice audiebant qui stupri consuetudine conjuncti erant."

Ἐάν . . . ζωῆς, probably from some apocryphal writing; possibly a comment on Matt. v., 29.

ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ, supply ἀμαρτάνει.

προσκύνημα, *salutation*; another name for *the kiss*, it would seem.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHRISTIAN CHASTITY IN MARRIAGE.

161. Sexual intercourse in marriage is limited to what is needful for the procreation of children. So Just. Mart., Apol. I., 29; Tertullian, Apol., 9.

Ἐβροίς, κ. τ. λ. Many grow old unmarried to live closer to God. So Just. Mart., Apol. I., 15; Origen, Cont. Cels., i., 26; Eusebius, De Laud. Const., 17; Tertullian, Apol., 9; Minucius, Octav., 31.

162. ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία, *the second marriage is a specious adultery.* This is the doctrine of the Montanists, but not of the Church. Second marriages were discountenanced, however.

"Ὅς γὰρ, κ. τ. λ., Matt. xix., 9.

ἐπιτρέπων agrees with the subject of *φησί*, Christ *not permitting to put away* (her) *whose virginity one has ended*.

λύων δέ, copulat. with *παρὰβαίνων μὲν*; *dissolving the combination into oneness of flesh with flesh for the commerce of the race* (Matt. xix., 5; Gen. ii., 24).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE INFAMOUSLY UNCHASTE CHARGE THEIR OWN CRIMES UPON US WHO ARE CHASTE, AND WHO ARE BOUND TO RETURN GOOD FOR EVIL.

163. τὰ ἀπόρρητα, *things not to be uttered*, referred by some to the secret rites of the Christians, as too holy to be discussed; but better by most to the abominable practices of the heathen.

Ἡ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα, supply ἐλέγχει. Compare the Latin "*Sus Minervam*," says Suffridus Petrus.

Οἱ . . . ἡδονῆς. So Just. Mart., *Apol. I.*, 27.

τῶν ἀρσένων . . . κατεργαζόμενοι, *Rom. i.*, 27.

164. τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ.; *this is eating men's flesh as the big fishes eat the little*, viz., τὸ βιάζεσθαι, *doing violence* contrary to the very laws, there being laws which you and your ancestors have established.

ὥς, κ. τ. λ. So that your governors are not enough to hear the lawsuits against us.

οἷς, κ. τ. λ. Who must turn the other cheek when struck: Matt. v., 39.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ANSWER TO THE CHARGE OF THYESTEAN FEASTS AND OF MURDER.

165. Who will say that we are murderers? We can not feast on human flesh till we have murdered some one.

τὸ πρότερον, the matter of murder.

τὸ δεύτερον, the suppers on human flesh. Frequent mention is made of this charge by the early apologists. It grew out of the language used at the Lord's Supper, it would seem; though the

defenses against it are not made, as we might expect, by setting forth the true nature of that sacrament. Minucius Felix, Octav., 9, 30; Tertull., Apol., 7.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, κ. τ. λ. Just. Mart., Apol. II., 12, mentions that some slaves and others had been brought by torture to testify to these tales against the Christians. So we learn from the Fifth Book of Eusebius's History, Ch. I., that the slaves in Gaul testified against their masters. But Athenagoras was not informed of the facts mentioned in Justin, and wrote before the news of the persecution in Gaul. See note on page 104.

166. We can not bear to see death even at your exciting gladiatorial shows — should we murder? Compare Tertullian, De Spectaculis, 24; Apol., 38.

167. We call producing abortion murder; exposing infants, child-murder—should we kill and eat children or men?

δουλεύοντες, obeying reason, not prescribing to it, we are always consistent.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CHRISTIAN BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD MAKES IT INCREDIBLE THAT THEY SHOULD EAT THE DEAD, AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION IS REASONABLE, AND SUPPORTED BY THE AUTHORITY OF PHILOSOPHERS.

168. One believing in the resurrection will not make himself the tomb of a dead body.

169. Those who believe soul and body perish may do any deed, as being liable to no account; but we, who believe that soul and body will suffer hereafter, refrain from the smallest sin.

170. If it is absurd that the decayed body should be reorganized, it is not sin to believe it, but folly, since it hurts no one else. So Lactantius, "Si vobis sapientes videmur, imitamini; si stulti, contemnite aut etiam ridete, si libet; nobis enim stultitia nostra prodest" (Instit., div. v., 12).

171. That many philosophers hold the reasonableness of a resurrection is not here essential to the plea, and the arguments, whether from this, that, or the other source, must be deferred.

νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, intelligible and sensible, i. e., objects known by reason, and those known by the senses, and their σύστασις, constitution.

περιπίπτωμεν, fall on, have experience of. The incorporeal is first in order of being, though we first feel the corporeal.

συνισταμένων . . . σωμάτων, material bodies being constituted of immaterial atoms (combined) according to the combination of the laws of the reason.

Πυθαγόραν, κ. τ. λ. The views of Pythagoras are lost, those of Plato are in the *Timaeus*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FINAL APPEAL FOR FAVORABLE JUDGMENT.

172. *Ὑμεῖς ἐπινεύσατέ (μοι) διαλελυμένῳ μὲν, κ. τ. λ., ἐπιδεδειχότι δέ, κ. τ. λ.*

173. We deserve our request because we pray for you, for the perpetuity and extension of your empire. Thus may we lead quiet lives and cheerfully obey all your edicts.

παῖς παρὰ πατρός, son from father, i. e., in regular succession, not exclusively referring to the present emperors.

αὔξην . . . λαμβάνη. Such was the common Christian prayer: "Christianus . . . necesse est ut et ipsum (imperatorem) saluum velit cum toto Romano imperio."—Tertull., *Apol.*, 30. "Pre-cantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam."—Prudent., *Peristeph.*, x., 417–420.

Τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. This (prayer) is in our behalf also, that we might lead a quiet and peaceable life. 1 Tim. ii., 2.

διάγοιμεν, in Timothy διάγωμεν. The optative suggests doubt of obtaining the request, perhaps only the doubt of courtesy and deference to imperial power.



CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

ANALYSIS.

(OTTO, pp. lvii. - lx.)

ATHENAGORAS divides this treatise into two parts, in the first of which he answers certain objections offered by those who oppose the doctrine of the resurrection, and in the second instructs and confirms Christians in their belief of the doctrine. From considerations of expediency he observes this order in the treatise, viz., giving arguments *in behalf of* the truth precedence over those *concerning it* (C. I.).

I. In the first part, therefore, he shows that the objectors have no reason to doubt that the bodies of men may be restored. They who believe that the resurrection is impossible, if they believe that God is the cause of all things, must prove that he is either *not able* or *not willing* to call back the dead to life; but either position is absurd.

For if it is said that God is unable to accomplish the resurrection, it must be that he is deficient either in *knowledge* or in *power*. But God, who knew how to form our bodies, can not be ignorant of the method by which they may be recalled to life (C. II.); neither can he want the power to restore, who had the power to create (C. III.).

Disbelievers, however, have objected that the elements of different human bodies are intermingled when beasts devour men, and are eaten in turn by other men; and

that there have been even examples of men who have eaten human flesh (C. IV.). To this he answers that to each living thing God has provided suitable food, and that that alone in each case becomes a part of the body to be nourished, through the process of digestion, which is its own proper nourishment (C. V.). Whatever is not suitable is by various means rejected (C. VI.). But the resurrection body is different from our present bodies, neither being composed of these mortal elements nor needing nourishment; so that no foreign element can become a necessary part of that true body which shall rise (C. VII.). Wherefore, he continues, nothing has been proved by the objectors, unless they have shown that human flesh is the natural and proper food for man (C. VIII.).

Another objection, drawn from potters and artificers, who are unable to renew their works when destroyed, is briefly answered by reference to the distinction to be made between the power of God and that of man (C. IX.).

Nor can it be shown that God is unwilling to call back the dead to life. He would be unwilling either because such an act would be unjust or unworthy of him; neither of which can possibly be (C. X.).

II. Having thus replied to opponents, Athenagoras states again his reason for the method of argument used in this treatise; and passes to the second part, in which he proves the doctrines held concerning the resurrection to be true. He proposes to establish this by a threefold argument—God's purpose in creating man, man's nature, and the judgment of God (C. XI.).

Man was not created for the use of another being, but that he might exist, and contemplate God forever; wherefore he can not perish (C. XII.). From this pur-

pose of God in creating man the resurrection is established (C. XIII.).

Considerations drawn from the nature of man properly follow those drawn from the purpose in his creation; and those who seek from the final judgment the sole reason for the resurrection of the body, do not reason soundly (C. XIV.). Man has a twofold nature in one being—soul and body; each incomplete without the other (C. XV.). And since there is one common end of the being thus compounded, immortality is a necessary inference, and hence the resurrection; and although this union of soul and body is broken by death, we must not despair of the resurrection; for as the course of things in this present life is interrupted by sleep and various other changes, yet the same life goes on, so also we are to conclude concerning the immortality of man from his nature (C. XVI.). Changes, therefore, through which men pass in this life render the resurrection, as the last great change of all, probable (C. XVII.).

The judgment of God, since it is just, should have reference both to the soul and body—that is, to the whole man composed of these two; for there are many sins which the soul would not commit if not urged on by the body. Whence also the body is to be punished. It must therefore rise from the dead (C. XVIII.). Again, he urges against those who do not admit first principles that, if there be no resurrection nor immortality, men are mocked; there is no providence, no reward of good or evil given by God; for it certainly is not manifested in this life, and can not be after death (C. XIX.), if either the soul and body perish at death, or the body alone (C. XX.). For it would be unjust to reward or punish the soul alone, when the body was a partaker in the good and bad deeds (C. XXI.). The virtues and vices of man

can not be thought of as existing in the unembodied soul (C. XXII.). Nor are laws imposed upon the soul alone, but upon the whole man (C. XXIII.).

A fourth argument is added, drawn from the end for which man was created. This end, he declares, was neither freedom from pain nor bodily delights (C. XXIV.), nor the happiness of the soul separated from the body: hence he concludes that the resurrection is necessary (C. XXV.).

Partes sunt duae:

ANALYSIS LIBRI DE RESURRECTIONE.

I. <i>diva resurrectionis pro veritate</i> resurrectionis contra incredulos, quod deo desit:	vel <i>facultas</i> resuscitandi mortuos; haec vero probari nequit	ex defectu <i>actionis</i> divinae, <i>entiae</i> divinae, ex defectu <i>potentiae</i> divinae;	utranque ex opere creationis partim <i>probat</i> , partim <i>defendit</i> contra obiectiones philosophorum	circa corpora humana vel a bestis vel ab hominibus devorata, circa opera contrita quae renovari nequeant.
II. <i>karateueuotikij de veritate</i> in gratiam <i>divinam</i> , ubi IV argumenta afferuntur:	1. <i>causa creationis hominum</i> , ut sint perpetui spectatores sapientiae divinae, 2. <i>natura hominum</i> , cui ad finem vitae rationis consequendum debeatur vita perpetua, 3. <i>iudicium dei super homines</i> necessarium, 4. <i>finis hominum ultimus</i> , qui hac in vita non reperitur.	tum propter providentiam, tum propter iustitiam dei.	a minori ad maius colligendo.	

NOTES.

THE TREATISE OF ATHENAGORAS, THE ATHENIAN PHILOSOPHER AND CHRISTIAN, ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER I.

DEFENSE OF THE TRUTH SHOULD PRECEDE DISCUSSIONS REGARDING IT.

1. Παντὶ δόγματι καὶ λόγῳ, κ. τ. λ., *Some falsehood springs up beside every doctrine and opinion agreeing with the truth of things*; lit., *holding to the truth in things*; transl. (Otto), "quæ cum rerum veritate consentit." δόγματι, λόγῳ, 450; H., 602 sq.; G., 186. Der. δοκέω; δογμα > δογμα, 148; H., 46; G., 16, 3; M., 35 (4), 32, note. ἀληθείας, 426. With the sentiment, compare former treatise (Supplicatio pro Christianis), xxxi., s. 154; also Cicero, De Natura Deorum, I., 5: "Non enim sumus ii quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quaedam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota."

οὐκ . . . ὀρμώμενον, *not taking its rise*: in agreement with ψεῦδος understood. This participle introduces a causal circumstance, 674; and it springs up not because it takes its rise, etc.

ἀρχῆς, principle, 412.

ἢ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ ὑπερ ἕστων ἑκάστων, *or from a cause in that which each thing is*, i. e., from some cause peculiar to the particular case.

τὴν ἐκθεσμον σποράν, *the spurious seed*. σποράν, to follow out the figure of growing in παραφύεσθαι. See Matt. xiii., 24-30; Luke viii., 4-15.

διαφθορᾷ, 460, 694; H., 640, c.

σπουδαζόμενον, *zealously pursued, invented*; Lat. excogitatum; in agreement with ψεύδος.

2. Τοῦτο, i. e., the fact just stated.

πρῶτον μὲν stands opposed to ἡκιστα δὲ, as does πάλαι το ἐν μέσῳ.

ἰσχυροτάτων, *having devoted themselves*; from σχολάζω.

καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων . . . γενομένης διαφορᾶς, *and their disagreement occurring both with respect to their predecessors, etc.* διαφορᾶς, gen. of source, 412; governed by ἐκ, like τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων. Compare Supplicatio pro Christianis, VII., 28; also Lactantius, Instit., div. v., c. 3: "Philosophorum doctissimi, Plato et Aristoteles et Epicurus et Zeno, ipsi sibi repugnantia et contraria dixerunt. Haec est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohaerere non possint."

τῶν ἐν μέσῳ στροφομένων, *those things now discussed*, i. e., from the discussions now going on.

3. τῶν ἀληθῶν, 415; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

κατέλιπον, the aorist for the perfect, for liveliness of expression. See 605; H., 706.

τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the being (or essence) of God*.

οὐ τὰ τοῦτοις, κ. τ. λ., *not those (teachings) following these regularly in series delineating to us the doctrines of piety*. τὰ, viz., the teachings, the divine books. Revelation is represented as logically following from God's being, his knowledge and his power,

τούτοις, 449 sq.; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

ἡμῖν, 452 sq.

πάντη καὶ καθάπαξ ἀπογινώσκουσι, *utterly and once for all give up*. ἀπογινώσκουσι, not in the sense of reject, but = *desperant*.

πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, *to that seeming to them*; i. e., to their own opinions.

ἀπορεῖν, *to be at a loss, to doubt*.

4. "Ὅθεν οἶμαι δεῖν, κ. τ. λ., *Whence I think there is need of twofold arguments to those undertaking these (topics)*. λόγων διττῶν, i. e., two methods of treatment.

τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, κ. τ. λ. Athenagoras here indicates

the two divisions of his work—one part devoted to arguments in behalf of the truth, the other to instruction concerning it; the first answering objections urged against the resurrection by those who oppose the doctrine, the second confirming the minds of Christians who believe it. τῶν μὲν . . . τῶν δὲ, partitive appositives distributing λόγων διττῶν.

μετ' εὐνοίας, *with favor*.

5. χρή; the subject is σκοπεῖν, while the subject of the infinitive is τοὺς ἐθέλοντας.

τὴν ἐκάστοτε προκειμένην χρείαν, *the necessity lying before in each case*. χρείαν, the object of σκοπεῖν.

μεταρμόζειν, *to adapt*.

μὴ modifies ἀμελεῖν, *and not to neglect fitness and the place suiting each (topic) by seeming to preserve always the same order*. The infinitives μετρεῖν, μεταρμόζειν, and ἀμελεῖν are subjects of χρή understood. τοῦ προσήκοντος, 432, d; H., 576; G., 171, 2.

6. πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν, κ. τ. λ., *for proof and the natural order*.

πρωτοσταυῶσιν = priores sunt, *precede αὐτῆς*, i. e., ἀληθείας.

τῶν (sc. λόγων), 404, 407; H., 580, a; G., 171, 3.

χρειωδέστερον = majorem utilitatem.

7. προσηκόντως καταβάλλειν τῇ γῇ τὰ σπέρματα, *fittingly to cast the seed into the ground*.

μὴ προεξελών, *not having rooted out beforehand*.

καὶ τοῖς καταβαλλομένοις, κ. τ. λ., *hurtful to the good seed thrown down*.

λυμαινόμενα, in agreement with τὰ. The case here supposed illustrates the method of procedure for the greater utility (τὸ χρειωδέστερον), the errors of opinion, of course, answering to τὰ ἀγρίας ὕλης. Observe, in this conditional sentence, the protasis (μὴ προεξελών) is incorporated as a participle, a construction very common in Greek. Thrown into the form of a distinct clause, it would be εἰ μὴ προεξέλοιτο; 631, d; 635; 674; H., 748; 789, e; G., 224, 226. The same form of supposition is represented in Latin by the present and perfect subjunctive: "neque enim possit . . . nisi prius evulserit," etc.—Harkness, 507 sq.

ἐνεῖναι τι τῶν ὑγιεινῶν φαρμάκων, *to introduce any healing medicines.* ἐνεῖναι, 2 a. inf. from ἐνέημι.

μη . . . προκαθήςας, *not having purged out beforehand the disease within.* A construction like the one above.

ἢ τὴν ἐπιφύευσαν ἐπισχών, *or arresting the one approaching; i. e., the disease (κακίαν).*

μὴν, affirmative = profecto, *surely.*

πείσαι δύναιτ' ἂν τινα, *would be able to persuade any one.*

ψευδοδοξίας τινὸς ὑποικουρούσης, *some false opinion secretly influencing.* The condition is here incorporated as a gen. abs., because the subject is not the same as that of the verb in the conclusion; 675.

ἀντιστατούσης, *opposing.*

8. ἡμεῖς, i. e., ἐγώ, 489, b.

ἔσθ' ὅτε, sometimes; for ἐστὶ ὅτε, *there is, when.*

τῶν, governed by προτάσσομεν, gen. of precedence, 407.

οὐκ ἀχρεῖον φαίνεται σκοποῦσι τὸ δέον, *seems not without advantage to (me) looking at the needs (of the case).* ποιῆσαι is the subject of φαίνεται. σκοποῦσι (sc. ἡμῖν), as before ἀφορῶντες, ἡμεῖς, etc.

9. πάντη, *utterly; used adverbially.*

πρώτας ὑποθέσεις, *first principles.* Maran understands by these words the power of God, and the creation of the world by an act of his will; and supposes that the persons referred to in τῶν γε τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις δεξαμένων are such as have recently been converted to the faith, who believed the main doctrines, but were as yet in uncertainty as to the resurrection. See ch. xi., s. 46.

ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς ἀμφιβάλλουσιν ἀποροῦντες, *as much at a loss as those doubting.* τοῖς, dat. of likeness; 449, 451.

ἡ παραλογώτατον, *most unaccountable.*

ταῦτα, i. e., doubts and unbelief.

ἡντιναοῦν ἀφορμὴν, *any ground whatever.*

οὐδ' αἰτίαν εὐρίσκοντες, κ. τ. λ., *nor finding any reasonable cause to assign why they disbelieve or have perplexity.*

CHAPTER II.

ADOPTING THE METHOD REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST CHAPTER, THE WRITER PROCEEDS TO SHOW THAT THE RESURRECTION IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

10. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως, *Let us then so consider* (the subject). Σκοπῶμεν, subjunctive for inv., 628; H., 720, a; G., 253. See also note under 253 (G.), whence it appears, as is also suggested by Crosby, that this idiom arose from the ellipsis of a word of attention, etc.; 626. οὕτως, viz., the method indicated in ch. i.

Εἰ πᾶσα ἀπιστία . . . ἀσφαλείας. We here have a conditional sentence with the conclusion entirely suppressed; 636; H., 753; G., 226, note. There is an ellipsis also of the verb in the protasis, which would in this case be in the indicative present; 631, a; H., 745; G., 221. *If all unbelief is* (sc. ἐστι) *not being to certain ones rashly and by some hasty opinion*, etc. (all is well, καλῶς ἔχει).

προχείρως, *off-hand* (πρό, χεῖρ).

αἰτίας ἰσχυρᾶς, *strong ground*.

κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, *belonging to the truth*.

τὸν εἰκότα σώζει λόγον, *it has (saves) a just ground*. τότε looks back to the condition stated in the preceding sentence; but observe the condition is stated again in another form in the temporal clause ὅταν αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. λ.

τὸ, in agreement with ἀπιστεῖν.

γάρ τοι = profecto enim. We should expect ἀλλὰ μὲν, or some other adversitive conjunction. Throwing the sentence into the form of a reason is a rhetorical device. γάρ is wanting, however, in some MSS.

ἀνθρώπων ἔργον, (is) *the act of men*.

ὕψαινουσί κρίσει, *sound judgment*; 466, b; H., 607, a; G., 188, note 2.

11. Οὐκοῦν (perispomenon) = igitur.

χρη. The subject is ἐκφέρειν, which in turn has as its subject τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας.

πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀκρίτως, *according to that seeming inconsiderately to them*; i. e., their own rash or hasty opinions.

τὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις κεχαρισμένον, *that pleasing to rude men*. ἀκολάστοις; see ch. xix. (s. 92), where λάγνοις is joined to this word. The meaning is *intemperate*, wanting self-control (α priv., κολάζω), *non castigatus*; hence, undisciplined.

μηδεμιᾶς αἰτίας. ἐξάπτειν, *to derive from no cause*. χρῆ is still the verb. αἰτίας, gen. of source, 412.

λίαν εὐεξέλεκτον, *very easily refuted*.

ἡ τῷ θεῷ τὴν τῶν ὄντων, κ. τ. λ., *or, ascribing to God the cause of all things, to observe that which underlies (τὴν ὑπόθεσιν) this belief*. τοῦδε τοῦ δόγματος, viz., the doctrine that God is the cause.

οὐδαμῶθεν, *by no means*.

12. εἰάν δεῖξαι δυναθῶσιν, 631, c; H., 747; G., 223. The use of the subjunctive in this case is a polite concession, expressing in form some slight probability that they may be able to show what he here imposes upon them. In the mind of Athenagoras there is no possibility that they will prove that God is either unable or unwilling to raise the dead.

πάντη διαλυθέντα, *wholly dissolved*.

τὴν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστασιν, *the structure of the same men*. παυσάσθωσαν, *let them cease*, 631, form c; H., 747; G., 223.

ἃ μὴ θέμις, (things) *which it is not right* (to profane); "ea quae non licet appetere."

ἐκ τῶν ῥηθησομένων, *from the things about to be said*. ῥηθησομένων, fut. pass. pt. from ῥηῶ.

13. τινι, *to any one*, 452; H., 595; G., 184.

γινώσκεται, *is considered*; i. e., is well known to be.

τὸ γενησόμενον, *that about to be, viz., that which is to be done*. τὸ γενησόμενον is more fully and clearly expressed in τὸ ποιηθ-σόμενον, καὶ πόθεν γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ πῶς, and still more definitely in the passage οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν τὸν θεὸν δύνατον τῶν ἀναστησομένων σωμάτων τὴν φύσιν, κ. τ. λ., in the 14th section.

δύναμιν ἀρκούσαν, *sufficient power*.

ἐγνωσμένον; pf. pass. pt. from γινώσκω (γιγνώσκω).

Ὅ τε γὰρ ἀγνοῶν: the protasis incorporated, for Εἰ τις ἀγνοοῖ.

For the optative in condition and conclusion, see 631, d; H., 748; G., 224; F., 200, 207.

τῶν δεόντων, 415; H., 558, 559; G., 168.

παράπαν = omnino; *would be utterly unable either to undertake or to accomplish what he is ignorant of.*

καὶ πόθεν γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ πῶς, *and whence it may be (accomplished, i. e., by what means it may be done), and how.*

οὐκ ἂν ἐγχειρήσειε τὴν ἀρχήν, *would not undertake at all*, adv. acc. The condition is here expressed in δύναμιν δὲ ἢ μηδ' ὅλως ἔχων; but other conditions are added in σωφρονοίῃ and ἐπισκέψαιτο; 633, b.

ἀπερισκίπτως, *without consideration.*

τὸ δόξαν, *his purpose*, "id quod sibi proposuit."

14. 'ΑΛΛ' οὐτε ἀγνοεῖν, κ. τ. λ., *But it is not possible for God to be ignorant either of the nature of the bodies about to be raised.* Cic., De Nat. Deor., ii., c. 30: "At et ignoratio rerum aliena naturae deorum est, et sustinendi muneris propter imbecillitatem difficultas minime cadit in majestatem deorum."

μέρος ὅλον refers to entire members or limbs, while μόριον refers to parts of members, or particles.

χωρεῖ, *passes.* The subject is ἕκαστον (sc. μόριον).

τὸ λυθὲν καὶ χωρῆσαν πρὸς τὸ συγγενές, *that having been dissolved and having passed to its kindred (element).* Construe τὸ as the object of δίδεσθαι. χωρῆσαν, 1 a.^o pt. neut. from χωρεῖω.

ἐὰν πάντ' παρ' ἀνθρώποις, κ. τ. λ., *although to men, that united according to nature to the universe may seem to be quite inseparable;* i. e., what has gone back to its elements by natural process of dissolution.

ἡνωμένον, from ἐνώω (εἶς).

15. 'Οι γὰρ οὐκ ἡγνόητο, κ. τ. λ., *For it is evident (εὐδηλον) that he to whom the nature of the elements about to be was not unknown, etc., will not be ignorant as to whither the elements have passed from which he formed the construction of each.* εὐδηλον (sc. ἐστὶ) is the principal clause. The antecedent of 'Οι is αὐτός understood, the subject of ἀγνοηθήσεται, viz., Θεός. For syntax, see 452; H., 595; G., 184.

I

μετὰ τὸ διαλυθῆναι τὸ πᾶν, *after the whole has been dissolved, viz., τὸ πᾶν = the body.*

16. "Ὅσον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ, κ. τ. λ., *For with reference to the order of things now obtaining among us, and our judgment concerning other things, it is a greater thing to know beforehand that which has not yet come to pass.* "Ὅσον = quantum ad.

ἀξίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the majesty of God.*

τῷ goes with προγινώσκειν, governed in the dative by ἐπ' ἰσῆς, 449, 451; H., 603; G., 186. *To know the things having been dissolved is equally easy with to know beforehand things not yet come to pass.*

CHAPTER III.

HE WHO COULD CREATE THE LIVING CAN ALSO RAISE UP
THE DEAD.

17. Καὶ μὴν καὶ = et profecto etiam; *and truly furthermore.*

τὴν δύναμιν, the object of δεικνύειν, *the creation of these very (bodies) shows the power, that it is sufficient, etc.* The writer discusses the point contained in ἀδύνατον first, afterward (ch. ix.) that in ἀβούλητον. σωμαίων, obj. gen., 444; H., 558, g; 565; G., 167, 3.

τούτων αὐτῶν, see refs. on σωμαίων. See Just. Mart., De Resurrec., c. 5; Tatian., c. 6.

Εἰ γὰρ; γὰρ introduces the conclusion (ἀναστήσει), Εἰ the condition (ἐποίησε). The indicative presents the supposition as a fact; *for if he created the bodies of men (and he did create them).* See 631, a, b; H., 745; G., 221.

καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀρχάς, *and the original elements of these; τούτων referring to σώματα.*

καθ' ὃν ἂν τύχη τρόπον, *in whatever manner that may take place.*

18. τῷ λόγῳ, *to the argument*; 452.

βλάβος, *damage*: "Nec de hac ratione quidquam detrahitur."

ἐξ ὧς ὑποθῶνται τινες . . . κἂν ἐκ σπερμάτων; *a reference to the physical schemes of evolution held particularly by the Epicureans.*

ὡς πρώτων, *as first principles*, in agreement with στοιχείων. ὕλης, 412; H., 579, c; G., 176, 1; so στοιχείων and σπερμάτων.

ἡς γὰρ ἔστι δυνάμεως, κ. τ. λ.; the infinitives μορφῶσαι, κοσμήσαι, συναγαγεῖν, διελεῖν, διαδρῶσαι, and δοῦναι are all to be construed as the subjects of ἔστι.

τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς νενομισμένην ἄμορφον οὖσαν, *the matter considered shapeless by them* (sc. ὕλην).

πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις εἶδεσι, *with many and diverse forms*, 466; H., 606; G., 188.

ἐν ὃν καὶ ἀπλοῦν, *being one and simple*.

τῆς αὐτῆς ἔστι (sc. δυνάμεως), *it is of the same power to unite also that having been dissolved*; i. e., the same power can reunite, etc. ἔστι has its subject again in the series of infinitives. For the case of τῆς αὐτῆς, as also of ἡς δυνάμεως, above, see 440; H., 568, 572; G., 169.

μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν, *to change into incorruption*.

19. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν εἴη, κ. τ. λ., *And it will be of the same (being), and of the same power and wisdom*. διακρίναι and ἐνῶσαι are subjects of εἴη. For the case of αὐτοῦ, δυνάμεως, etc., see above on τῆς αὐτῆς. ἂν εἴη, κἂν . . . χωρήσῃ, κἂν ἐνεχθῇ, 632, 649, 654; H., 747, 750; G., 223, 227; F., 200, 204, γ, 213; see also Harkness, 509, 511.

ὅποσα (sc. ζῶα), *whatever (beasts) are accustomed to resort to such bodies*.

τὸν . . . κόρον, *their fill*.

χωρήσῃ, the subject is to be supplied from τὸ διατεθρυμμένον above: *even if it may have passed into one animal of them*; ἐν, emphatic, as standing opposed to the following πολλά.

κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν εἰς ταύτας ἀνάλυσιν, *according to the natural analysis into these*; i. e., the dissolution by natural law.

δ, viz., the fact that these parts of human bodies may again be gathered and reunited after such separation and dissolution. δ is the subject of ἔδοξε.

τινας καὶ τῶν, κ. τ. λ., *certain ones even of those admired for their wisdom*. τινας, object of ταράττειν. τῶν θαυματομένων, gen. part.

ἰσχυρὰς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἡγησαμένων, κ. τ. λ.; ἡγησαμένων, in agreement with τῶν: *supposing, I do not know how, that the doubts*

brought forward by the many are strong (i. e., well founded). Observe the prominence given to *ισχυράς* by its position, 719, a; F., 306 sq.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OBJECTION TO THE RESURRECTION FROM THE FACT THAT SOME HUMAN BODIES HAVE BECOME PARTS OF OTHERS.

20. Οὗτοι, referring back to *τινας*, s. 19.

τῶν . . . δυσθανάτων, of those suffering a hard death; 435, 443, 506; H., 509; G., 139.

ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τραχυτέραν, κ. τ. λ., or (of those) deprived of burial from some other more severe cause and circumstance of things.

ταφῆς, 404 sq.; H., 580, a; G., 174.

προκείμεναι βόραν, lie before as food. The subject is *πολλά* (sc. *σώματα*). *βόραν*, from *βιβρώσκω* (*βρο-*); comp. Lat. *voro*; 104, 145.

Τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων σωμάτων, 675; H., 593; G., 183. So also *μερῶν καὶ μορίων διαθρυπτομένων, ἐνουμένων*. *μερῶν καὶ μορίων*; see notes on s. 14, 19, 29.

πρὸς δὲ ταύτην, κ. τ. λ., and in addition to this, a second still more difficult (case); viz., to be stated in the next sentence.

21. *Τῶν . . . ζώων . . . ἰόντων*, gen. abs.; For animals feeding on the bodies of men, such as are fit for food to men, passing through the stomach of these (men), and being incorporated into the bodies of those (men) partaking of them, it is an absolute necessity that the parts of men, such as have become food to the animals partaking of them, pass into the bodies of other men, the animals nourished meanwhile by them conveying (*διαπορθευμένων*) the food (derived from them) by whom they were nourished into those men of whom they (in turn) become the food.

ὀπόσα (sc. *ζῶα*).

σώμασιν, 449 sq.; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

εἶναι; the subject is the incorporated clause, *τὰ μέρη . . . μεταχωρεῖν*.

ὀπόσα (sc. *μέρη*).

τούτοις (sc. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώμασι*).

ἐγένετο; the subject is *ζῶα* understood.

22. ἐπιτραγωδοῦσι, *they tragically add.*
καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν, κ. τ. λ., *and the children eaten by those having begotten them by the contrivance of enemies.*

ἰδηδεσμένους, pf. p. pt. from ἰσθίω.

Μηδικὴν τράπεζαν ἐκείνην, *that Median feast*, referring to a particular one—viz., the act of Harpagus, a general of Cyrus, who was forced by Astyages to eat the flesh of his own son, because he had disobeyed his orders in not putting to death the infant Cyrus. See Herod., i., 108, 119; Justin., i., 5, 6; Diogen., 6, 37.

Θυέστων. Thyestes was banished by his brother Atreus from the kingdom of Argos for violence offered to Aerope. Atreus afterward affected a desire to be reconciled, and recalled Thyestes, receiving him with an elegant entertainment. But he was soon informed that he had been feeding upon the flesh of one of his own children.

καινουργηθείσας, lit., *newly perpetrated*; but the notion of novelty passes over into that which is better expressed by *strange* or *monstrous*.

βαρβάροις. As regards the eating of human flesh by the barbarians, see Aelian., Var. Hist., iv., c. 1; Pompon. Mel., ii., c. 1.

κατασκευάζουσι, *they establish*. There could be no doubt in these cases that parts of human bodies were taken into other human bodies.

ἑτέροις τε καὶ ἑτέροις σώμασιν, *both to other and other bodies*; i. e., the same parts can not be restored to one set of bodies, and to another set also.

τὰ (sc. σώματα), the subject of δύνασθαι.

ἢ τούτων ἀποδοθέντων τοῖς προτέροις, κ. τ. λ., *or these being restored to the former, those of the latter will stand in need* ("imperfecta fore [corpora] posteriorum").

CHAPTER V.

ATHENAGORAS BEGINS HIS REPLY TO THESE OBJECTIONS BY A REFERENCE TO THE PROCESSES OF DIGESTION AND NUTRITION.

23. πρῶτον μὲν, looking forward to πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις at the close of the section.

τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος καὶ διοικοῦντος, *of the one having formed and regulating.* τοῦ, an adjunct of δύναμιν and σοφίαν, 435; H., 558; G., 167.

ἐκάστου ζώου φύσει, κ. τ. λ., *having adapted to the nature and kind of each animal suitable and convenient food.*

κατάλληλον (κατὰ and ἀλλήλων), *agreeable to each other* (aptum cibum).

συναρμόσαντος, in agreement with τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος; so δικαιοῦσαντος, ἔχοντος, ἐπιτρέποντος, etc.

τὸ δρᾶν ἢ πάσχειν ἃ πέφυκεν, *to do or to suffer what is natural.*

μηδὲ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν τρεφόντων, κ. τ. λ., *nor (do they seem) to have considered the power and nature, etc.*

24. Ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἔγνωσαν, κ. τ. λ., *For they surely would have known that not every thing which one takes in under the pressure of need from without becomes suitable food for the animal.* Ἡ strongly affirmative; hence frequently, as here, with a bitter sarcastic force. ἂν ἔγνωσαν, the apodosis of a conditional clause. There is an ellipsis of the condition: (if they had not been ignorant) *they certainly would have known.* The indicative implies the non-fulfillment of the condition. They were ignorant. 615; 631, a, b; 636; H., 746, 752; G., 222; 226, 2; F., 208.

τοῦτο, a repetition of πᾶν.

ἅμα τῷ προσομιλῆσαι, κ. τ. λ., *as soon as they come in contact with the folding parts of the stomach are wont to be corrupted.* προσομιλῆσαι, 663, 449; H., 602 sq.; G., 186. μέρεσι is in the same construction.

πέφυκεν; the subject is τὰ; 569.

τρόπον ἕτερον διαφορούμενα. "Rechenberg refers to Nemesius, who, in his treatise concerning man, writes (c. 23, of nutrition): '... ἐκκρίναι τὰ περιττὰ διὰ γαστροῦς, δι' οὐρων, δι' ἐμετῶν, δι' ἰδρώτων, διὰ στόματος, διὰ ῥινῶν, δι' ὠτων, δι' ὀφθαλμῶν, διὰ τῆς ἐκπνοῆς, διὰ τῶν ἀδῶνλων πόρων.'"

τὴν πρώτην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπομεῖναι πέψιν, *to undergo the first and natural digestion.* πρώτην; Athenagoras follows the old physicians in his treatment of the subject of nutrition. There were, according to them, three processes—viz., (1) that in the stomach, (2) that in the liver, (3) that in the members and parts to be

nourished. These several changes consisted in the preparation and selection of the nutritive portions of the food, and finally the assimilation of the fit portions to the fibre of the body. Any thing unfit for the uses of nature was arrested and rejected at one or other of these stages of digestion. Of course, the point to which Athenagoras is working is that human flesh is not the fit and natural food for man; and therefore, though it pass into the stomach, though it pass beyond this to the liver, it can never be assimilated to the tissue of the body.

ὥσπερ οὖν = quemadmodum igitur.

τοῖς τρεφομένοις μορίοις προσπελάζει πάντως, *approaches at all the parts to be nourished.*

τῆς θρεπτικῆς δυνάμεως, *from the nourishing power; 404.*

καὶ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μεταχωρούντων, κ. τ. λ., *and passing into something else, which has lost the power of nourishing.*

οὐ πάσης εἰς τροφήν ἀνθρώποις χωρούσης, *not all issuing in food to men.*

ἔσθ' ὅτι, *sometimes.*

κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος, κ. τ. λ., *according to the predominance of that which abounds or exists in excess, and which is accustomed (εἰωθότος) in some way to corrupt or turn to itself that which approaches it.* The reference is to the last stage, where the members to be nourished reject or change all unnecessary or unfit parts of food that have passed through the preliminary processes. The view of Nemesius is expressed as follows: "Ἐκαστον γὰρ τῶν μορίων τοῦ ζώου φυσικῶς ἔλκει πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τὴν οἰκίαν τροφήν, καὶ ἑλκύσας κατέχει καὶ κατασχὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸ μεταβάλλει, καὶ οὕτως τὸ περιττὸν ἐξωθεῖ.

CHAPTER VI.

UNNATURAL OR HURTFUL FOOD IS ENTIRELY REJECTED IN THE PROCESS OF DIGESTION.

25. τῆς φυσικῆς διαφορᾶς, *the natural difference*, i. e., difference of nature. The construction throughout the sentence is mainly gen. abs. The principal verb is δεῖ.

συνεξαλλασσόμενης, *being varied to suit.*

κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ζώου τροφήν, *in the food of each animal.*

φθείρεσθαι, διαχωρεῖν, μεταβάλλειν, subjects of δεῖ.

ἢ πῶς = quo convenit, in the natural way.

συμβαίνουσιν δὲ καὶ κατὰ, κ. τ. λ., and also that the power of the nourishing body be naturally suitable, etc. δεῖ is to be understood. ἐννέμεσι, dat. after συμβαίνουσιν, 449 sq.; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

ταύτην, the subject of γενέσθαι, and referring back to τροφήν.

εἰλικρινεστάτην πρόσληψιν, a most genuine addition.

ἣν δὲ καὶ μόνην ἐπαληθεύων, κ. τ. λ., which alone any one speaking truthfully would in fact call food.

καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἑκείνον ὄγκον, κ. τ. λ., and that great mass (of food) taken in for filling the stomach, etc. ὄγκον, in the same construction with πᾶν, the object of ἀποβάλλουσιν.

26. οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσειεν, no one can doubt.

τὴν δὲ ἑτέρως ἔχουσιν, κ. τ. λ., but that having itself otherwise (being different) and contrary to nature, is quickly destroyed if it come in contact with a stronger power; but destroys with ease that overcome (by it). τὴν ἔχουσιν (sc. τροφήν). φθείρεσθαι depends upon ἀμφισβητήσειεν.

φαρμακώδεις ποιότητες, poisonous qualities. φαρμακώδης, generally medicinal; but often, as here, poisonous, drugs being popularly so considered. Compare Shakespeare's drug, poison, dose; Sp. yerba; Ger. das Gift. ποιότηας, from ποῖος; like Lat. qualitas, from qualis.

27. τοῦτον, viz., the fact just referred to.

τὸ, the article belonging to ἐπακολουθεῖν, 663, f; H., 493, c; G., 258; that pain or danger (disease) or death follows from these many of the animals nourished.

τούτων, viz., unnatural or hurtful food.

ἣν ὑπὸ σφοδρότητος . . . φύσιν, if they take in mingled with their food, by a too eager appetite, any thing poisonous, etc.

πάντως φθαρτικὸν ἂν εἴη, would be wholly destructive.

εἰ γε, since.

28. Εἴπερ οὖν τῇ διαφορᾷ, κ. τ. λ., If, therefore, food has been suited to the difference of animals differing by nature, according to the kind.

οὔτε τὸ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτου, nor that happening of it; i. e., not even an accidental part of it.

καὶ μεταβεβληκὸς εἰλικρινῶς, κ. τ. λ., *and having completely changed for union with the particular body.* ποιοῦ: observe the difference in accent between this word and its primitive, the interrogative ποῖος. ποῖός = quidam, frequently so used in Plato and other elder writers.

ἐνωθεῖη ποτ' ἂν, *can ever be united.*

πρὶν ἕτερόν τινα, κ. τ. λ., *before it produces some other humor*; 703, d, β; H., 769; G., 240, 2.

καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς, κ. τ. λ., *and the flesh itself needing the nourishment*; 414; H., 575, 584, b; G., 172.

Ἄλλὰ κὰν ἀπωσθῇ ποτε, *But even though it be expelled at length.* ἀπωσθῇ from ἀπωδέω.

ταῖς φυσικαῖς δυνάμεσι, viz., "vis medicatrix naturae."

ἐξεέρη, *it departs, flows out*; from ἐκρέω. The 2 a. pass. is so used also by Plato, *Repub.*, 452, D.

μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγης τῆς βλάβης, *litotes*, 70, m.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RESURRECTION BODY DIFFERENT FROM THE PRESENT.

29. "Ὅλως = omnino, *at all events.*

κὰν συγχωρήσῃ τις, *though one should grant.* The apodosis is οὐδ' οὕτως γενήσεται, 631, c; H., 747; G., 223; F., 200, 206.

τροφήν, the subject of διακρίνεσθαι, and μεταβάλλειν, these incorporated clauses being the objects of συγχωρήσῃ.

ἐκ τούτων, viz., from substances unfit for food.

τῶν ὑγραίνοντων, κ. τ. λ., *of the moist or dry or warm or cold*, viz., the four constituent elements of the body.

τι προὔργον, *any advantage.* The way in which Athenagoras introduces this new line of argument suggests that he felt a want of confidence in his answer to the objection thus far. But the objection is a serious one only on the supposition that the resurrection body is to be the exact body, absolutely identical in the material parts and particles that compose it. Athenagoras seems to meet it on this ground at first, with what success is a matter of little consequence, inasmuch as he now takes a much higher ground, claiming that the resurrection body is to be different

from the present, that it will throw aside its corruptibility, its needs, and its material functions and conditions; and also suggests that essential identity does not imply absolute identity of material parts, but organic unity during the whole period.

σωμάτων . . . συνισταμένων, 675; H., 593; G., 183; standing in the relation of a reason to οὐδ' . . . γενήσεται; 674.

τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν, viz., the parts which properly belong to them.

τῶν εἰρημένων, viz., τῶν ὑγραινόντων, ξηραινόντων, etc.

οὐδὲν συντελοῦντος, κ. τ. λ.; with this participle connect αἵματος, φλέγματος, etc., *neither the blood contributing any thing to life, nor the phlegm, nor the bile, nor the breath.* The several functions of these supposed elements will be seen by identifying them with the participles above (ὑγραινόντων, etc.), in the order of their mention.

τὸ ζῆν, viz., the true life, the resurrection life.

30. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἰδεήθη, κ. τ. λ., *Neither will the bodies nourished then need the things they once required.* ὧν, 414.

συνανηρημένης τῆς χρείας, 675. See 1 Cor. xv., 35-58.

τὴν νεωστὶ μεταβληθεῖσαν, κ. τ. λ., *that the flesh recently changed by food of that kind.*

σάρκα, the subject of τελεῖν, 666; H., 773; G., 134, 2.

σώματι, dat. after προσπελάσασαν, 449; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

τῷ μῆτε σάρκα φυλάττειν, *by the flesh not to keep*, i. e., for the reason that the flesh does not retain always what it has received.

εἶναι and παραμένειν are in the same construction, viz., dat. after οὐδ' ἀνάγκη τις ἔσται, 466, 1.

Σάτερα < τὰ ἕτερα, 124, 161; H., 68, 72; G., 11, 17; *great change, and that in various ways.*

καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἐγκαύσεως, κ. τ. λ., *and by the distempers resulting from fever or chill.*

μη. The negative should be taken with δεχομένων, *the humors which change* (i. e., regularly, in a condition of health) *with the flesh and fat, not receiving* (in this condition of disorder) *the food.*

ἐν τῷ μένειν, *in the to remain*, denoting a result = *ut permanent; so that they remain what they are.*

31. παθημάτων, *changes.*

εὔροι τις ἂν, 636, 1; H., 752; G., 226, 2.

ἐξ shows the relation between *τρεφομένην* and *ἀνοικείων*, *nourished by (food) unsuitable*. ἀνοικείων, 506, 402; H., 509; G., 139.

ἐξ ὧν προσεῖληθεν, *from what it has received*.

μειουμένην ἢ μᾶ τι, κ. τ. λ., *diminishing either by some one or by more of the causes before mentioned*.

ἀ συνδεῖν . . . πέφυκεν, *which are suited by nature either to bind together or to cover or to warm*. The object of the infinitives is τιν ἐξελεγμένην (sc. σάρκα). προσπεφυκυῖαν has the same subject understood, also συνεξέπλησε.

τούτοις refers to the fit and suitable parts of the food.

32. Ἄλλ' οὔτε γὰρ καὶ' ὁ, κ. τ. λ. The double connective suggests an ellipsis, Ἄλλὰ γὰρ = *enimvero*; *But (I need say no more on this point), for it is not possible to show that that spoken by them (the objectors) is true, either the points just now investigated being judged as they should be, or the objections urged against these being granted in concession*. ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, viz., against the views held by Athenagoras. Compare August., De Civ. Dei, xxii., c. 20.

τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσι φύσεως, *with those being of the same nature*; 449; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

κλαπῶσι, 2 a. pt. subj. from κλέπτω; *they be cheated in their perception*.

αἰσθῆσιν, 481; H., 549; G., 160.

σώματος, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2.

αὐτόθεν, *voluntarily, of their own accord*.

εἰ γε μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ., *since certain beasts being of human form have not escaped us (our knowledge), or having a mixed nature from men and beasts, etc.* There are different opinions as to the meaning of the passage. Reiner supposes that Athenagoras here recognizes the existence and exceptional nature of these beings, such as werewolves and centaurs, etc. Otto probably more correctly regards this as sarcasm, as if he should say—some in extremities of want will even of their own accord partake of human flesh, being half beasts. See close of ch. viii. εἰ γε = ἐπεὶ γε.

οἷους, viz., centaurs, satyrs, fauns, nymphs, sirens, etc.

τολμηρότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν; Sophocles, Homer, Pindar. See Soph. in Trach.; Hom., Il., i., 268, ii., 743, etc.; Pind., Pyth., 3, 8.

CHAPTER VIII.

HUMAN FLESH NOT THE PROPER OR NATURAL FOOD OF MEN.

33. σωμάτων, viz., human bodies ; 413.

μόνην . . . τήν . . . ταφήν . . . μεμοιραμένων, *destined only for a burial*; but ταφήν is the direct object of the participle.

ὅπου γε, *since*.

ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶδους, *of the same species*.

γίνηται; the subject is the same with the object of ἀπεκλήρωσεν, viz., ἄλλο τι.

34. τῶν τῇ φύσει συγκεχωρημένων, *of those allowed by nature*.

καὶ τοὺς . . . τολμῶντας . . . ἐντροφᾶν, viz., οὐδὲν κωλύσει; *and nothing will prevent those who dare to say such things from delighting themselves with the bodies of their dearest (friends)*.

ἡ καὶ . . . ἐστιᾶν, *or even to entertain those most kind to them with this same (food)*; i. e., not only delight themselves upon it, but their friends.

35. τὸ δὲ σαρκῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ἐναγίστερον, *and (if) for men to partake of the flesh of men is a thing most hateful and abominable, and more detestable than any other unlawful and unnatural food or act*. Very strong and emphatic language; very appropriately suggested, however, by the revolting extreme to which eating human flesh is drawn out in the irony of the preceding section. σαρκῶν, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2. ἐναγίστερον from ἐν, ἄγος = ἐν ἄγει ὢν, *under a curse, abominable*.

τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν, i. e., εἰ δὲ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, etc.

ταύτης, viz., τροφῆς.

ἂ μὴδὲ τρέφειν πέφυκεν, *which it is not suited to nourish*.

συγκριθεῖη ποτ' ἀν, *ever be combined*; this is the apodosis of the conditional sentence. For the forms, see 631, d; H., 748; G., 224.

ἴγ, from εἶμι.

πικροτάτην συμφοράν, i. e., in great extremities of want, or when such food is taken, not wickedly, but in ignorance of what it is. Rechenberg quotes here from Puffendorf: "Etsi carnibus hominum

temere occisorum vesci semper nefas apud gentes moratiores habitum est, tamen in summa fame et deficientibus aliis nutritis licere etiam carnibus hominum a nobis non caesorum vesci, ac miserandum quidem illum cibum esse, nefarium vero dici non posse." But Athenagoras seems not to justify the act of eating human flesh under any circumstance, but to insist that under whatever circumstances taken, it can not by the natural processes become a proper nourishment. As we have already seen (ch. vii., s. 29), the strength of his argument does not depend upon the soundness of this physiological point.

σκιδνάμενα, *scattered*.

τούτοις, viz., ἐξ ὧν τὴν πρώτην ἔσχε σύστασιν.

ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν, κ. τ. λ., *for whatever time each may chance* (to be so united).

ἐκείθεν δὲ διακριθέντα . . . ἐνοῦται προσφνῶς ἕκαστον ἐκάστω. Hugo Grotius (De verit. relig. Chr., ii., c. 10), as Rechenberg observes, here fitly employs the science of chemistry as an illustration. God gathers and reunites the scattered particles by forces and methods inscrutable, it is true, yet somehow analogous to the formation of substances by the mutual affinities of elements.

κὰν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος, κ. τ. λ., *even if, having been separated from the whole body, it may have been dissolved before other parts*.

μερῶν, 404 sq. See Tatian., Orat. ad Graec., c. 6.

ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ σύστασιν, *symmetry and structure*.

ὁμολογουμένην, κ. τ. λ., *for it has the acknowledged decision, to those at least not half brutes*. Ch. vii., s. 32.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ABSURDITY OF ARGUING FROM MAN'S IMPOTENCY.

36. εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐξέτασιν χρησιμωτέρων, *of more importance to the investigation before us*.

παραιτοῦμαι δὴ νῦν, κ. τ. λ., *I ask those taking refuge in the works of men to excuse me*; i. e., I must pass them by without an elaborate answer.

τῶν ἔργων, 415; H., 558 sq.; G., 168.

χρόνῳ, 466; H., 606; G., 188.

εἶτα ἐξ ὁμοίου τοῖς κεραμεῦσι, κ. τ. λ., *then endeavoring to show from the analogy of potters and carpenters, etc.* ὁμοίου, 412.

ἦ, καὶ διαλυθεῖν, *or also dissolved*; a progress from νεκρωθεῖν, *presenting a greater difficulty*; or not only dead, but *also dissolved* and separated.

τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐυβρίζουσιν εἰς Θεόν, *they cast reproach upon God by the worst (insults).*

τῶν πάντη διεστηκότων, *of those differing in every way.*

μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύταις, κ. τ. λ., *or rather the natures of those using these, and works of art to those of nature.* In seeming to pass over this form of the objector's argument as scarcely worthy of reply, Athenagoras here offers the only answer that need be made, viz., the utter unlikeness of the subjects between which the analogy is assumed. ταύταις; the antecedent is δυνάμεις, 466, b; H., 607, a; G., 188, note 2.

37. οὐκ ἀνεπιτίμητον, *is not unworthy of censure.*

μακρῶ, 468; H., 610; G., 188, 2.

τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, κ. τ. λ., Luke xviii., 27; Matt. xix., 26; Cic., De Nat. Deor., iii., 39: "Vos enim ipsi dicere soletis nihil esse quod deus efficere non possit et quidem sine labore ullo."

ὡς ἐνδόξων, *as probable.*

ὁ λόγος, *reason.*

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND PART OF THE OBJECTION, VIZ., THAT GOD DOES NOT WISH THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD, CAN NOT BE MAINTAINED.

38. Τὸ γὰρ ἀβούλητον, κ. τ. λ., *For the unwilling is unwilling by him either as unjust or as untrustworthy*; i. e., unworthy of him. We may assume beforehand that God's volitions will certainly lie in the lines of justice and propriety.

Σεωρεῖται, *is seen*; the subject being τὸ ἀδικον.

παρ' αὐτόν, *besides him.* αὐτόν refers to τὸν ἀναστησόμενον.

τῶν ἔξωθεν, 415, 416, b; H., 558 sq.; G., 168.

ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν, *among things existing.*

αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις = naturae intelligentes, i. e., angels and men. Comp. Just. Mart., Apol. I., c. 28; Athenag., Apol., ch. xxiv., s. 119. That no injury is done to men, however, who are themselves raised, is shown, s. 41; hence νοηταὶ φύσεις must mean angels, so called as perceiving not with eyes, but with the mind. So God is called by Athenag. (Apol., ch. v.) νοητός; i. e., νῶ μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ θεωρούμενος. Comp. Apol., chaps. iv., x., xxii., xxiii. So Plato, Timaeus, pp. 48, 92, ed. Steph.

ἀδικηθεῖν; the opt. as a more indirect and less offensive form of statement; 636, 1, a; 654.

ἐμπόδιον, *hinderance*; the predicate in the clause, the subject being ἀνάσσεις.

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ τῶν ἀψύχων (sc. ἀδικηθεῖν). ἡ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων φύσις stands opposed to αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις, and completes the specification of objects embraced in τὰ ἔξωθεν.

39. διὰ παντός, *forever*; i. e., that irrational and inanimate things exist forever.

ἀνανεωθέντων, *being renewed*; from νέος (novus).

εἰ γὰρ . . . οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖται . . . οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται, 631, a, b; H., 745; G., 221.

ὑπείκοντα, *being subjected*.

ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀνευδεῶν γενομένων (sc. ἀνθρώπων).

ἐλευθερωθέντα, *they* (τὰ ἄλογα καὶ ἄψυχα) *being liberated*. Comp. Rom. viii., 21.

40. εἰ φωνῆς μετείχεν, *if they partook of voice*; the imperf. ind. representing the supposition as contrary to fact; 631, a, b; H., 746; G., 222. φωνῆς, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2.

ὡς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, κ. τ. λ., *as being formed inferior to men, contrary to justice*.

ἐλαττούμενα, from ἐλασσών (ἐλάσσω, comparative of μικρός).

ἀνθρώπων, 408; H., 585; G., 175.

ὧν, the antecedent is τοῖς; *for the Just One does not assign a like end to those (creatures) of whom the nature is not like*.

τούτων, i. e., these foregoing considerations.

παρ' οἷς οὐδεμία, κ. τ. λ., *there is no complaint of injustice from*

(those creatures) *in which there is no notion of justice*. The common ground is taken that irrational creatures have no sense of right and wrong, but act purely from instinct in all cases that suggest the presence of a moral sense.

41. οὗτος, viz., ἄνθρωπος.

σωφρονῶν = ἰὼν σωφρονῇ, the condition being incorporated in the participial form, 635; H., 751; G., 226.

ὅτι λήσεται γε ταύτη, κ. τ. λ., *because he will escape himself in this way casting reproach upon the present life*; i. e., he will unconsciously (without knowing or meaning it) cast reproach, etc.; 677, f; H., 801; G., 279, 2.

συνεκβάλλων, lit., *rejecting*.

συνζῶσα, *living with* (συν, ζῶσα).

42. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνο φαίη τις ἂν, *Nor surely could any one say this that it is a work unworthy of God*, etc. Οὐ . . . οὐδ', a strong negation, 713, a, b; H., 843; G., 283, 8. See also M., 400; Harkness, 585.

CHAPTER XI.

BEFORE PASSING TO THE SECOND PART OF THE DISCUSSION, HE
REVIEWS THE PLAN OF HIS ARGUMENT, AS STATED IN CHAP. I.

43. τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πρώτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων, i. e., first principles and inferences, and deductions from them. τούτοις, 449 sq.; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

τῶν ἐξητασμένων, *of the points investigated*; referring to the preceding discussion.

τούτων, viz., the same preceding arguments.

τὸ παράλογον, *the absurdity*.

τῆς ἐκάστου . . . ἀντιστροφῆς, *the correspondence of each of them to each*; 413. The reference is to the Creator's ability and willingness to raise the dead, and the fact that this is a work worthy of him.

τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ, κ. τ. λ.; a formula by which the writer introduces the discussion of a point whose discussion he affects to regard as wholly unnecessary, a rhetorical figure called *paraleipsis*.

συναφείας, *harmony*.

ἑτερότητί τινι, *some difference*.

βουλητόν. Athenagoras has here been understood to mean (Petavius, *De Deo*, lib. i., p. 83), "quidquid Deus potest id eum velle" ("et quod vult id omnino posse"); but βουλητόν rather = vellibile, and does not designate what God actually wills or what he has purposed to do, but what may fall within his will and purpose. So before (x., s. 38) ἀβούλητον means what God can not will, viz., because it is either unjust or unworthy of him. Τὸ γὰρ ἀβούλητον ἢ ὡς ἄδικον αὐτῷ ἔστιν ἀβούλητον ἢ ὡς ἀνάξιον. So Maran, Otto.

44. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἕτερος; having answered objections offered by opponents, Athenagoras, before he passes to the other part of his treatise, reviews the method and arrangement of his argument; see ch. i.

μετρίως = satis (Maran), as often with Plato; e. g., *Phaedr.*, p. 277 B, ed. Steph.

οἷς τε διενήνοχεν ἑκάτερος, *and in what respects they differ each from each*. διενήνοχεν, pf. from διαφέρω.

τῆς τῶν . . . συναφείας, *the connection of what has been said to what remains*. συναφείας, governed by ἕνεκεν, 429.

τῶν τούτοις προσηγόντων, *those belonging to (or allied to) these*.

45. τῷ μὲν, *to one* (kind of argument), viz., περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.

τῷ δέ, viz., ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας; see s. 44.

δορυφορεῖν, *to attend*.

πρόσαντες, *steep, difficult*; from πρὸς, ἀντην (ἀντί), *rising up against*.

ὡς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων γνῶσιν παρεχόμενος, *as furnishing the knowledge of the subjects*.

μηνυτής, *the discloser*.

πρόξενος, *the assurance, guarantee*.

46. καταδείστερος, *inferior*.

ἔλαττον γὰρ . . . κρατύνειν, *for to refute error is of less importance than to establish truth*; i. e., the establishment of truth is in the end the surest refutation of error. But some have understood it

of man's native inclination to falsehood and error, "that natural though corrupt love of the lie itself." Hence the difficulty that men meet in impressing the truth requires that special attention be given to that, and the refutation of error be made secondary. Dechair quotes in this connection Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, i., 21: "Mihi non tam facile in mentem venire solet quare verum sit aliquid, quam quare falsum;" also 32: "Utinam tam facile vera invenire possim, quam falsa convincere."

κατὰ τῶν ψευδοδοξούντων, *against those holding false opinions.*

ἐξ ἐπισποράς ἐπεφύη, *has grown up from an after-sowing; ἐπεφύη, 2 a. pt. from ἐπιφύω.*

χρειώστερος; see I., s. 6; also Lactantius, *De falsa relig.*, i., 23: "Primus sapientiae gradus est falsa intelligere, secundus vera cognoscere."

καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι προσιοῦσι, κ. τ. λ., *and the doubt and error of those who have recently come over; i. e., new converts.*

47. εἰς γὰρ τὴν εὐσίβειαν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν, κ. τ. λ., *for both the one refuting error and the one confirming truth has reference to piety; i. e., has piety as his object.*

ὡς ἔφην; see above, 45.

ὁ δ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τισι, κ. τ. λ., *the other becomes more useful sometimes (ὅτε) to some (τισι) and against certain ones (πρός τινας).*

κεφαλαιωδῶς, *summarily, viz., as a brief recapitulation.*

48. Ἰτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον, *But we must pass on to that proposed.* Athenagoras now passes to the second part of his treatise, viz., περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἰτέον, verbal, from εἶμι, 682; H., 398, 804, b; G., 119, 2; 281, 2. This construction answers to the use of the fut. pass. part. in Latin. "Veniendum est autem ad propositum." See Harkness, 562, 573, 580.

αἰτίας αὐτῆς, *the cause itself, viz., the final cause, the purpose for which he was created (xii.-xiv.).*

οἱ τε μετ' ἐκείνον, *and those after him; i. e., his posterity.*

ἀπό τε τῆς, κ. τ. λ., *the second argument for the truth of the doctrine, viz., the common nature of men (xv.-xvii.).*

κρίσεως, *the third argument (xviii.-xxiii.).*

ἐπολιτεύσατο, *has lived, has regulated his behavior.*

ἦν, viz., κρίσιν.

CHAPTER XII.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE RESURRECTION FROM THE PURPOSE IN
MAN'S CREATION.

49. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν, κ. τ. λ., *The argument from the cause will appear if we observe whether man came into being at random and in vain or for some (purpose).*

αἰτίας, in the sense of final cause, purpose; see s. 48.

πότερον. The reference is to the well-known rule of philosophers: "Deum et naturam nihil frustra facere."

τινος, with ἔνεκεν, 429.

ἐπὶ τοῦτο γυνόμενον αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν καὶ διαμένειν, *existing for this very thing (viz.), to live and continue.* γυνόμενον: Otto suggests that perhaps it should read γυνόμενος, or γέγονεν μόνον; but the sense remains substantially the same with a mere change of syntax. See 675, d, e.

καὶ πλείονος φροντίδος ἡξιωμένων, *and thought worthy of greater care; 431.*

50. κοινότερον, *more generally.*

εὐρίσκομεν, *we shall find; 609; H., 699, a.*

ὧν πεφρόντικεν, *for whom he has cared.* The antecedent of ὧν is the partitive genitive suppressed after ἄλλου τινός; *some other (of those) for whom,* etc. For the case of ὧν, see 432, 552 sq.

οἷον = veluti, *as, for example.*

ὧν ἔστιν ἐνδείξ, *of which he is in need.*

κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον, κ. τ. λ., *in the appearance, but in the end, for that, but as to the immediate (object), for the care of those for whom he cares.*

διὰ τοῦτο, viz., ἰδίας ἔνεκεν χρήσεως. In the last analysis (κατὰ τὸ τέλος) man's care for his beasts is for himself.

ὧν, viz., βοῶν καὶ καμήλων, etc.

αὐτῷ, viz., ἀνθρώπῳ.

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι τε, κ. τ. λ., *but that those produced from him may exist and continue as long as possible.*

καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε (sc. χρόνον).

ἐγγόνων, *grandchildren*.

ταύτη = *hoc modo, thus*, 506, b; H., 509, b.

51. ταῦτα, referring back to the building of houses, shelters for beasts, and the procreation of offspring.

τούτων, viz., ἀνθρώπων.

οὐτ' ἂν ἐποίησε, *could not have made*; a strong assertion, but softened by ἂν; 636, 1, a; H., 752, 722; G., 226, 2. Observe here and in what follows the syllogistic form of the argument. The logical order would be—No work of wisdom is vain: God is wise; therefore he certainly did not make man in vain.

τὸ παράπαν, strengthens μηδενός, *nothing at all* = *nulla omnino re*.

οὔτε τῶν μειζόνων οὔτε τῶν καταδεστέρων; construe these genitives after ἐτέρον. *For nothing of those employing reason and judgment has been created or is created for the service of another of those either greater than or inferior to (itself), but for the life and continuance of the beings themselves created.*

52. ὁ λόγος, *reason*.

αἰτίαν, *as a cause for the creation of men*; 393; H., 499; G., 137; "qui causa sit hominum creationis."

καὶ μηδεμίᾱς μηδαμῶς, κ. τ. λ., *and needing no help at all from men in order to their existence*.

ἀρχομένων, *being subjected*. The construction is the same as before with a change of subject, viz., gen. abs.

τάς . . . χρείας, *the services*.

τούτοις, viz., ἀνθρώποις.

εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν, *for service to the inferior*.

ἀνεπιτηδεῖοις, *unfit*; in agreement with ἀλόγοις.

πρὸς τὸ ἀρχειν, *ad imperandum*.

53. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ποιήσαντος γνώμην, *at least with reference to the purpose of the Creator*.

αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος. Clement Alex. uses a similar argument in the *Paedagog*, i., c. 3.

κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον καὶ κοινότερον λόγον, *according to the first and more general account*. μὲν looks forward to δὲ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν προσεχέστερον. λόγον, *view of the subject*.

δι' shows the relation between *ἑαυτὸν* and *ἐποίησεν*.
ἐξαπτομένην, *kindled*.

54. *τοιούτην* *ζωήν*, viz., *ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἐξαπτομένην*, *εἴτα παντελῶς σβεν-
 νυμένην*.

τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὸν ποιητὴν, *but to those bearing as an image in themselves the Creator himself*. Construe *τοῖς* after *ἀπεκλήρωσεν*, 452; H., 595; G., 184, 1.

νοῦν τε . . . μεμοιραμένοις, is to be taken as explanatory of *ἀγαλ-
 ματοφοροῦσι*.

κρίσεως, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2.

νόμφ τε καὶ δίκη, 449 sq.; H., 602 sq.; G., 186.

τούτοις is variously understood. Thiersch supposes it to refer to the bodies; Dechair to the body and soul; Nannius understands it of virtues or qualities developed in the Christian life; while another and probably a better view makes it refer to *νόμφ* and *δίκη* as its antecedents.

τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ἐκράτουναν ζωὴν, *they endured their preceding life*.

55. *χάριν* = *ἐνεκεν*, originally accus. spec.; 481; H., 549; G., 160.
 See also 436, d; H., 552; G., 160, 2.

παύσεται εἰκότως, κ. τ. λ., *the things created themselves will also fitly cease to exist*; lit., *cease from the to exist*; 405; H., 580; G., 174.

ὥς . . . ἔχοντος, 680; H., 795, e; G., 277, note 2.

τά γέ μὴν δι' αὐτὸ, κ. τ. λ., *certainly that created that it might exist and live as it was intended, the cause itself being bound up with its nature and seen only in its existence, can never admit a cause annihilating utterly its existence*.

ζῆν, inf. from *ζάω*.

ὥς . . . συνειλημμένης . . . θεωρουμένης, see above on *ὥς . . . ἔχον-
 τος*. *συνειλημμένης*, pf. p. pt. from *συλλαμβάνω*.

ἀφανίζουσιν, lit., *putting out of sight* (a priv. *φαίνω*).

56. *Ταύτης* (sc. *αἰτίας*).

δεῖ σώζεσθαι, κ. τ. λ., *also it is necessary that the being (ζῶν) cre-
 ated be preserved forever*.

ἐκατέρου . . . συνεισφέροντος, *each of those (parts) of which it con-
 sists contributing that from itself*; viz., that which belongs es-

pecially to itself. *ἑκατέρον*, properly, *each of two*; hence *τούτων* refers to body and soul, as afterward appears.

ὁμαλῶς, *the same, without change*.

ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπισταεῖν ὁρμαῖς, *to preside over the impulses of the body*; 452; H., 595, b; G., 184, 2.

τὸ προσπίπτον αἰεὶ, *that ever happening, viz., that happening from time to time*.

προσῆκουσι, suitable. Comp. Cic., *De Offic.*, i., 28: "Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura; una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est ὁρμή Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit; altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat quid faciendum fugiendumve sit. Ita fit ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet."

καὶ τὰς ἀποκληρωθείσας, κ. τ. λ., *and receiving the changes allotted to it*.

κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας, κ. τ. λ., *relating to age or form or size*.

Εἶδος γάρ τι μεταβολῆς . . . ἡ ἀνάστασις, *for the resurrection is a kind (Εἶδος) of change*. Comp. 1 Cor. xv., 51-53.

πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, *for the better*.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE ARGUMENT DERIVED FROM THE PURPOSE OF GOD.

57. *Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις . . . γενομένοις. τούτοις*, referring to the hoped-for resurrection; see above. For case, see 452, 456; H., 595, b; G., 184, 2.

τεθαρρηκότες, being confident; p. pt. from *θαρρέω*.

μετ' ἐνδείας καὶ φθορᾶς; i. e., we enjoy (*στέργομεν*) this life, although want and corruption attend it. The Christian faith, by its revelation of the life to come, gives a sustaining hope in the midst of this life's ills.

βεβαίως, firmly.

ἑαυτοὺς βουκολοῦντες, feeding ourselves.

γνώμῃ, in apposition to *ἐχέγγυφ*.

νοῦν τε . . . αὐτῷ, and furnished to him understanding.

ἐμφρονί τε βίῃ, κ. τ. λ., *to an intelligent existence and a rational life*; i. e., as suited to an intelligent existence, etc., 453.

ζῶον, being.

58. ἐπὶ τῷ μετασχεῖν, *to partake of an intelligent life.*

ζωῆς, 424; H., 574; G., 170, 2.

καὶ γενόμενον θεωρὸν, *and having become a spectator*; the subject of συνδιαμένειν.

ἐδῆχε, *he has received*; the subject is *man*. P. from λαγχάνω.

ἡ δὲ διαμονὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν (sc. πιστοῦται), *and this continuance (immortality) (confirms, or is a pledge of) the resurrection.*

ἥς χωρὶς, κ. τ. λ. See ch. xii., s. 56.

59. καθ' ἣν εἰς τόνδε, κ. τ. λ., *for which man has been brought into this world.*

παρῆται, p. pass. from παράγω; ἤγται > ἤκται, 147, 1; H., 44; G., 16, 1. Comp. M., 35, 4.

ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη . . . διασκέψασθαι, *it may be in order to consider, etc.*

ἐξετάσιν, *investigation.*

τῇ αἰτίᾳ 450; H., 602, sq.; G., 186.

φύσις, the subject of ἔπεται.

τούτοις τε πᾶσι, κ. τ. λ. (sc. ἔπεται), *and the end of their existence (follows) all these.*

τῶν προτεταγμένων, viz., the considerations relating to the cause for which man was created.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RESURRECTION DOES NOT REST SOLELY ON THE FACT OF A FUTURE JUDGMENT.

60. Ἡ τῶν τῆς . . . ἀπόδειξις, *The proof of the doctrines of truth or of those (matters) whatever (they may be) proposed for examination.* ἀπόδειξις, the subject of ἔχει.

ἐπιφέρουσα πίστιν, *producing conviction*, i. e., if it is to produce an unfaltering confidence in the things said, must have its beginning, etc.

οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν . . . δεδογμένων, *nor from the things seeming or having seemed to certain ones, viz., nor from what certain persons think or have thought.*

ἡ τῆς πρὸς τὰ . . . ἀκολουθίας, *or from the relation of secondary*

(truths) to *primary*. The pertinence of this train of thought to the subject in hand will be seen further on (s. 63, 64). The proper order of argument is again engaging the writer's attention. The fundamental or primary truths (τὰ πρῶτα) are with him God's purpose in the creation of man, and the nature of the being so created. The future judgment furnishes a valuable argument, but secondary in its character and importance, though many have rested the whole case upon it.

61. Ἡ γὰρ περὶ τῶν πρῶτων ἐστὶ δογμάτων, *For it is either of primary beliefs*; viz., relates to primary beliefs: it, viz., the question; but here specifically the resurrection. πρῶτων δογμάτων, the arguments for the resurrection, derived from the cause of the creation and the nature of man, rest ultimately on beliefs that are not the result of education or argument, but are in the constitution of man, and need only reminiscence (ὑπομνήσεως) to excite them and bring them into force.

τὴν φυσικὴν ἔννοιαν, *the natural notion*; as above, s. 60 = τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον.

ἐπὶ τὸ μήτε . . . ἀμελεῖν, denoting purpose; *that we may be neither unmindful of the truth, etc.*

ἀληθείας, ἀσφαλείας, 432, c; H., 576; G., 171, 2.

τὸν φυσικὸν εἰρμόν = ἡ φυσικὴ ἀκολουθία, above.

62. Ὅθεν οἶμαι χρῆναι, κ. τ. λ., *Whence I think it behooves those devoting themselves to these subjects and wishing fairly to decide, etc.*; or δίκαιον may be referred to ἐσπουδακότας, *those discussing the subject fairly*. ἐσπουδακότας, the subject of ἐπισκοπεῖν. Ὅθεν οἶμαι χρῆναι. See ch. i., s. 4.

τὴν δύναμιν, *the force*.

ἔσχατον, *last*.

63. πρῶτην. See ch. xii.

γνώμην, *design*.

οὐχ ὥς . . . δευτερεύουσιν, *not as being second*.

κατὰ ταῦτόν, *at the same time*.

κἀν ὅτι μάλιστα, κ. τ. λ., *though they depend upon each other particularly, i. e., have the closest relation to each other*.

64. τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχόντων, lit., *taking their rise*. ἔχόντων, in agreement with τούτων, viz., τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων φύσεως.

διὰ τῶν τῆς προνοίας λόγων, *by arguments from Providence*.

τιμῆς ἢ δίκης, *reward or punishment*.

τοῦ . . . τέλους, *and from the end of human existence*; chaps. xviii.—xxiv.

πολλοὶ γάρ. We do not know who they were. Certainly Tertullian was not one of them. See De Resurrec. carn., c. xiv.

65. μὴ πάντας, viz., τοὺς κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας. Very young children, who die having done neither evil nor good (μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας ἢ κατορθώσαντας), are not judged; hence, if the resurrection follows from the judgment, are not raised; but all are raised.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARGUMENT FOR THE RESURRECTION FROM THE NATURE OF MAN.

66. Ἀρκούσης μόνης θεωρουμένης αἰτίας, 675; H., 593; G., 183; i. e., although the cause alone, seen in the creation of man, is sufficient to prove, etc., 674.

ἐπομένην τοῖς διαλυθεῖσι σώμασι, *following on bodies dissolved*; i. e., that it (τὴν ἀνάστασιν) follows dissolution; is the next thing that happens to bodies dissolved; 450.

πρὸς μηδὲν ἀποκνῆσαι τῶν προτεθέντων, *to shrink from neither of the proposed* (arguments). τῶν προτεθέντων, viz., the nature of man, the judgment, and the end of existence, s. 63, 64.

τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνιδεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις, *to those not able of themselves to discern* (them).

τῶν ἄλλων; see above on τῶν προτεθέντων.

67. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσα, κ. τ. λ., looks forward to δεῖ πάντως.

κοινῶς, *in general*.

χωρὶς, *separately*.

ἀπεκλήρωσε θεός; Just. Mart., De Resurrec., c. viii. Other fathers have used the same argument.

τὸν σύμπαντα βίον, more general than ζῶιν; *the whole course of existence.*

ἴν' ἐξ ὧν γεννῶνται . . . τέλος, *that, having passed through this life, they may arrive at some common end* (with the same elements) *with which they come into life and live.* The thought is the unity of the soul and body, and their continuance in the same relations which exist in this life. Otto gives the sentence a fuller form, without, however, making the antecedent of ὧν more definite: "ut, quibus ex rebus constant quum gignuntur et vivunt, cum iisdem ad unum aliquem et communem finem vita peracta perveniant."

αἰσθητικῆς ἢ τῆς λογικῆς κρίσεως, *the judgment of the senses or of reason*, including both physical and mental power.

ἵνα πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων, κ. τ. λ., *that (these) all and through all may agree in one harmony and the same experience*, (viz.) *man's creation, man's nature, etc.*

68. τῶν ἐκ ψυχῆς φεομένων . . . ἐπιτελουμένων, *of those things springing from the soul, or of those accomplished through the body.*

καθαρῶς, *precisely.*

69. τὴν ιδιάζουσαν ἔνωσιν, *their peculiar union.*

70. πρὸς διάκρισιν νοητῶν, *for the discernment of things perceived by the understanding.*

οὐσιῶν, *existences.* See xvi., 75.

71. μὴ τῆς δεξαμένης, κ. τ. λ., *the nature receiving it, and in which it inheres, not continuing.*

ἀρα, *therefore.*

72. ἡ ψυχὴ συνήρμωσται, κ. τ. λ., *the soul has been fitted to the need of the body, and to its experiences, in vain.*

πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν ὧν ὀρέγεται, *with reference to the attainment of what it desires; i. e., so that it can not attain, etc.* Chrysostom (Homil. 30) also compares the soul to a charioteer: ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡνίοχος ἄρματι καὶ κυβερνήτης πλοίῳ καὶ μουσικὸς ὀργάνῳ, τοῦτο εἶναι τῷ γῆνιν τοῦτῳ σκεύει τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ πλάστης ἐνομοθέτησεν· αὕτη κατέχει τὰς ἡνίας, κ. τ. λ.

καὶ συνόλως εἰπεῖν, *and to speak briefly.*

73. ἀπελήλαται; τὸ μάταιον is the subject. *But if vanity is entirely excluded from all the works of God, and from all the gifts bestowed by him.*

τῷ ἀτελευτήτῳ συνδιαωνίζειν, *the endless duration.*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NATURE OF IDENTITY IN MAN; THE ANALOGY BETWEEN DEATH AND SLEEP.

74. ὁ λόγος, *meaning, definition.*

75. τῶν ἀφθάρτων, *angels.*

τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμονήν; on the nature of personal identity, see Haven's Mental Philosophy, p. 245 sq.

κατὰ . . . ἀφθαρσίαν; 1 Cor. xv., 53, and comp. ch. xii., above.

CHAPTER XVII.

OBSERVED CHANGES IN MAN MAKE THE RESURRECTION PROBABLE.

80. διαπλάσῃ does not occur elsewhere. It should mean, *completely formed*; it has been rendered by *mollī*, Ger. *weichem*, *soft*, *difficto*; others take it for διαπλαστικῷ, *having the power of forming*; others read ἀδιαπλάστω, *unformed* as yet. There seems no difficulty in the simple meaning, *the seed completely formed*—i. e., giving no intimation that it is an incipient animal.

82. αὔξησης: ad pueros pertinet αὔξησης, ad adolescentes τελείωσις, ad viros ὕφησης, ad senes διάλυσις.—Otto.

83. Ὡσπερ οὖν, κ. τ. λ. As experience shows us changes in the body which would have been incredible, reason may much more give us ground for believing in the change called resurrection.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FUTURE JUDGMENT MUST BE PASSED ON BOTH SOUL AND BODY, AND THEREFORE BOTH MUST RISE AGAIN.

84. The arguments urged hitherto have been drawn from the nature of man as implanted by God, his creator; the argument to come relates to God as a moral governor.

85, 86. The moral argument has two divisions: 1, future rewards and punishments; 2, the final cause of man's life. It is premised that all who believe in God must hold that he takes care of all things according to the end for which he made them; of man, e. g., in respect to food, posterity, and reason.

ἀχρείον γὰρ οἶμαι. γὰρ refers to an unexpressed thought: *I will not enlarge*, for I think it a work of needless ambition (idle effort) to go through (spin out), or distinguish, or mention in detail what is suitable to each nature.

87. *διὰ τὸ . . . ἐννομον*, for his rule in respect to food and posterity.

ἀνάγκη . . . τιμωρίαν; it is necessary, since food and posterity relate to man as made up of soul and body, that justice must relate to this complex being, and that he as such must give account and receive reward or punishment.

88. *Εἰ δὲ*, the beginning of a compound protasis, whose apodosis begins with *εὐδελον παντὶ* (p. 78, line 2).

καὶ μήτε . . . μήτε τὸ σῶμα . . . ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, and if it is meet that neither the soul alone should bear the penalties . . . nor the body alone . . . but the complex man.

τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε . . . οὔτε δὲ μετὰ θάνατον, and if reason finds this retribution neither happening in this life, where the wicked flourish often and the good suffer . . . nor at death, when the soul and body are separated.

εὐδελον, κ. τ. λ., the conclusion is plain to every one.

κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, 1 Cor. xv., 53; 2 Cor. v., 10.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD MAINTAINED TO AN ATHEIST AS A
GROUND OF BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION.

89. To those acknowledging divine providence, these and the like arguments may suffice.

90. But in dealing with atheists, it is well to start farther back, and inquire whether man's life goes on in the dark, or whether God watches it and judges it.

περὶ τῶν πρώτων, those differing about *first principles*, i. e., atheists.

91. If there is no providence or judgment, man is worse off than the brutes; virtue is absurd; let us eat and drink.

οἱ τὰ πᾶσι δουλαγωγοῦντες, 1 Cor. ix., 27.

τὸ φίλον, the *maxim dear* to the intemperate and lewd.

Φάγωμεν, κ. τ. λ., Isa. xxii., 13; 1 Cor. xv., 32.

τοῦ τοιούτου βίου, the atheist's life.

κατὰ τινας, i. e., as some say. The atheist should get his pleasure while living, since after death there is (according to him) not happiness, as some say, but insensibility. Compare ch. xxxiv., s. 122.

92. But if there is righteous discrimination between men, it must be either in the present life or after death; but the atheist can find it in neither.

93. The present mortal nature is not able to suffer so as to afford penalties adequate to the greater crimes. The godless wretch who destroys whole nations—how can he be fitly punished if one death put an end to him and his pains?

δήμους, λαούς, ἔθνος; a climax.

CHAPTER XX.

IF THE SOUL PERISHES AT DEATH, THERE CAN BE NO JUDGMENT,
AND JUSTICE MUST SUFFER: SO IF THE SOUL LIVES, BUT THE
BODY PERISHES.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REWARD OR PUNISHMENT OF THE SOUL ALONE WILL NOT
ANSWER THE DEMANDS OF JUSTICE.

98. If good deeds are rewarded, the body will be wronged, as it shares in the deeds and not in the reward; and also as the soul is excused for faults because of the needs of the body, while the body has no credit for the good deeds in which it toils.

99. If faults are judged, it is unjust to punish the soul alone for faults to which it was carried or attracted by the body.

100. Is it not unjust to condemn the soul alone for acts to which it has no natural appetite?

101. Since most sins spring from the passions excited by the body (e. g., desire of property, of the use of it, of marriage, etc.), is it just to judge the soul alone for these?

ἐνοχλοῦνται, they are made turbulent.

καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀρέξεις . . . τὰς δὲ ἁμαρτίας, and (how is it right) that the appetites (etc.) have their impulse from the body, but that the sins from these (etc.) fall on the soul alone?

102. If we affirm that the passions are not of the body alone, but of man compounded, we shall not attribute them to the nature of the soul by itself; for (s. 103) since it is absolutely without need of food, it can not desire, etc,

104. Since the soul is superior to corruption or hurts, it can have no fear of famine, etc.

105. But if the passions do not belong to the soul *per se*, it is unjust to charge the sins springing from them on the soul alone.

CHAPTER XXII.

SINCE VIRTUES AND VICES ARE NOT RECOGNIZED IN THE SOUL SEPARATE, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS SHOULD NOT BE ASSIGNED TO THE SOUL SEPARATE.

109. Πῶς δὲ φρόνησιν, *How* can one conceive as belonging to the soul separate *practical wisdom*, since there would be no impulse to practical activity?

110. How can equity be an attribute of souls *per se*, since they have no means of bestowing according to merit, save honor to God, and have no impulses to use or abstinence?

δικαιοσύνη, action according to the real relations, πρὸς ἀλλήλους or πρὸς ἄλλο τι, κ. τ. λ.

οὐκ ἐχούσαις : the members of the body are needed to act on other persons.

κατ' ἀξίαν ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, *according to merit or according to analogy*. That a parent should be honored is a judgment κατ' ἀξίαν, that a teacher should be honored as much as (or more than) a parent is a judgment κατ' ἀναλογίαν; so if we say with the scholiast, Οἱ μὲν γονεῖς τὸ ἀπλῶς εἶναι παρέσχον ἡμῖν, οἱ διδάσκαλοι δὲ τὸ εὖ εἶναι. Ἐξήρηται δὲ τούτων θεός καὶ ἡ εἰς τοῦτον τιμή, ὥς οὐ μόνον τοῦ εἶναι παραίτιος ὢν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ εἰς ἀεί.

εἰς θεὸν τιμῆς, God knows the heart, and is worshiped in the spirit (John iv., 24).

ἐπὶ τῶν χρῆσθαι πεφυκότων, *in those beings constituted to use them*. It is in regard to such beings that questions of duty arise as to using or abstaining from using things.

ἰδιοπραγίας, the so-called *peculiar function* of the members not being able to be found in the soul so constituted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LAWS ARE ADDRESSED TO MAN, NOT TO THE SOUL BY ITSELF ;
AND THE TRANSGRESSION OF THEM SHOULD BE VISITED ON
MAN, NOT ON THE SOUL BY ITSELF.

112. *μοιχείας, φόνου, κλοπῆς*, Deut. v., 17 ; Matt. xix., 18 ; Luke xviii., 20 ; Rom. xiii., 9. Athenagoras follows the order of the two last.

113. *Τίμα, κ. τ. λ.*, Exod. xx., 12 ; Luke xviii., 20.

ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρώποι, *but men (generating) men* appropriate the names *father, mother*.

Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, Exod. xx., 13.

116. *τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν*, *those who have come together*—assembled to hear the reading of the discourse, *τῶν παρόντων* ; though some refer it to readers : “ *Qui ad librum legendum accedunt.*”—Clarisse.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ARGUMENT FOR THE RESURRECTION FROM THE CHIEF END OF
MAN.

117. *τῶν προτεθέντων*, *the points proposed*. See ch. xi., s. 48 ; xviii., 85.

τοῦ τέλους, *the final cause*, or chief end.

ὑπόθεσις, *the plan of argument*.

118. *Τούτων, κ. τ. λ.*, *on account of these persons present and others attending to the subject*. Some, however, read, “ *for these reasons and others pertaining to the subject.*”

καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι, *it may be well* to remark thus much only.

τοῦτο, the object of *ἐκδιδασκούσης* ; common-sense and common eye-sight *teaching this*, i. e., that every thing both of nature and art has some end of its own.

119. *κατά τινα φυσικὸν εἰρμόν, in a certain natural series.* Rechenberg comments nobly: "Res omnes a deo creatae elegantissime nexu ita sunt inter se complicatae, ut contemplantibus nobis earum finem scalam quasi, qua in deum ascendamus, ordinatissimam praebeant. Inserviunt enim elementa corporibus *mixtis*, et horum inanimata *vivis*, inter viva stirpes *animalibus*, inter animalia pecudes *homini*: atque sic cetera quidem universa sunt propter hominem, homo vero ipse propter *deum*, non quod carere numen *αὐταρκέστατον* opera nostra non possit, sed quod placuerit illi hominem, carissimum sibi animal, compendium quoddam universi et centrum, in quod omnes reliquorum corporum lineae cōirent, ita disponere, ut quemadmodum axis rotam promovet sic ipse, cui soli inter has corporeas naturas intelligendi concessa facultas est, globum caeli pariter ac terrae secum volveret in gloriam summi artificis. Sapienter ergo Athenagoras, pulcherrimam finium consecutionem speculatus, ad ultimum hominis finem cognoscendum nos deducit, ac inde futuram eius vitam meliorem resurrectionem demonstrat."

120. The end of man, as a being of peculiar nature, must be unlike the common lot.

ἔπει μὴδὲ θεμιτόν, κ. τ. λ., since it is not lawful to suppose the same end for beings destitute of rational judgment and for those acting according to implanted law and reason.

121. τὸ ἄλυπον, *the absence of pain* can not be the end of man, since that is the end of the brutes.

οὐδὲ . . . ἀπόλαυσις, nor enjoyment of things feeding or delighting the body, since this would imply that a brute life is supreme and a life of virtue purposeless.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CHIEF END OF MAN IS NOT THE HAPPINESS OF THE SOUL SEPARATED FROM THE BODY, AND HENCE THERE MUST BE A RESURRECTION.

122. τὴν . . . ζωὴν ἢ τέλος, *we do not inquire concerning the life or final cause of either of the parts of which man is composed.*

123. If there is a final cause of this complex being, the union of both soul and body, and it is not found while they are living here nor when the soul is separate, it must be in some other constitution and life of the two together.

124. οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, the law of nature does not establish the end *abstractly, or for men in general*, but for the very men living the past life.

τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς, *but the same men it is past contrivance to constitute again, except by the same souls being given to the same bodies.*

120. The final cause of man's life and reason, one will not err in saying, is the unbroken contemplation of the objects of reason—to be delighted unceasingly in the seeing of The Being and his decrees.



INDEX OF WORDS.

Numeral letters refer to chapters, figures to sections. Such letters and figures preceded by R. refer to *De Resurrectione*, others to *Supplicatio*. The indexes are adapted from Otto.

A.

- ἀβασανίστως, *without examination*, xxiii., 113.
ἀγαλματοφορεῖν τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, R., xii., 54.
ἀγειν καὶ ἀρπάζειν, i., 5 : ἀγ. τελετάς καὶ μυστήρια, i., 1 : ἀγ. *govern*, xiii., 55 : ἀγ. τινά, *ducere*, i. e., *aestimare*, *recognize*, iv., 16 : ἀγ. τῇ δόξῃ, xvi., 68.
ἀγέννητος, iv., 15.
ἀγορεύειν κακῶς τινα καὶ διώκειν, iv., 16.
Ἄγραυλος, i., 1.
ἄγριος ὕλη, οὔρος. ἡμερον σπέρμα, R., i., 7.
ἄδεια—ἐπ' ἀδείας, *licentiously*, iii., 12.
ἀδελφός et ἀδελφή, *nomina amoris*, xxxii., 160.
ἀδιακόσμητος ὕλη, R., iii., 18.
ἀδιάφορος, *de venere promiscua*, xxxii., 158.
Ἀδράστεια, vide Ἑλένη.
ἀθεότης, iii., 12 ; coll. iii., 14 ; vide σμῆνος.
Ἀθηλᾶ, Minerva, xvii., 72.
ἀτίδος—μόνος ἀτίδος ὁ ἀγέννητος Θεός, xxx., 152 ; coll. xxii., 98 : ἀγένητόν τι καὶ ἔστιν ἀτίδιον, xix., 80.
αἰδέριος—τὸ αἰδέριον = ὁ αἰδήρ, vi., 25.
αἰτία—αἰτίαν λαμβάνειν, *to be accused*, ii., 7.
ἀκατάληπτος God, x., 38.
ἀκριβής—ἐπ' ἀκριβῆς = ἀκριβῶς (xi., 45), vi., 22 ; xx., 85 ; xxiii., 107.
ἀκριτος βλασφημία, *heedless calumny*, xxxi., 155.
Ἀλέξανδρος, *deified at Parium* (saec. 2), xxvi., 180.

ἀλλά—interrogative, viii., 34; augmentative, i., 5; in propositions conditional, εἰ δ' οὐδεν . . . ἀλλ' ὥς γεν. οἶδεν, vi., 23.

ἄλλος ἄλλοις χρῶνται, i., 1.

ἄμητος, xxxiii., 161.

- ἄν, c. fut., xxi., 157.

ἀναβάλλειν σπέρμα, xiii., 54.

ἀναγκαῖα, τά, *prudenda*, xxii., 99.

ἀναισθητεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ, xv., 62.

ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, R., i., caption.

ἀνδριαντοποιητική, xvii., 70.

ἀνδροφονεῖν, xxxv., 167.

ἀνδροφονία, xxxv., 165.

ἀνείδιος ἔλη, R., iii., 18.

ἀνεκδήγητος, x., 38.

ἀνεπιτρόπευτος, R., xviii., 86.

ἀνθρωπικός, ix., 35; xi., 45; xxxii., 159; xxxiv., 164; xxxv., 165.

R., always ἀνθρώπινος.

ἀνθρωποβορία, xxxv., 165.

ἀνθρωπος, vide *χριστιανός*.

ἀντιδοξεῖν τι, xxi., 118.

ἄνω καὶ κάτω, xxii., 102.

ἄνωθεν, *superne* (coelitus), xviii., 75: *of old*, R., xvii., 79.

ἄξια, ἡ, τοῦ Θεοῦ, R., ii., 16: πρὸς ἄξιαν, i., 3; iii., 13; xxx., 153:

κατ' ἄξιαν, et κατ' ἀναλογίαν, R., xxii., 111: τὸ κατ' ἄξιαν, R., xviii., 89; R., xix., 94.

ἀπαθής God, x., 38.

ἀπαλός—ἀπαλή ψυχή, xxvii., 134.

ἀπαξιοῦν, *to decline to speak*, xxiii., 109.

ἀπαράλλακτος ὁμοιότης, xvii., 70.

ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς χρήμασιν, *renuntiare opibus*, i., 5.

ἀπείρατος, *unafflicted*, R., xviii., 89.

ἀπερισκέπτως, R., ii., 13.

ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τι, i., 2.

- ἀπηρυσιασμένος, *imprudent*, xxxv., 165.

ἄπιστος, *oppos. σπουδαῖος*, xxi., 120.

ἀπλῶς καὶ μάτην = ἀναιτίως καὶ μάτην, R., xii., 49, 53.

ἀπό, of a person giving occasion, xvii., 70: οἱ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, *philosophers*, ii., 9; xxiii., 107: so οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους, vi., 25: οἱ

- ἀπό τῆς στοᾶς, vi., 26 ; xix., 81 : οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, xvi., 65 :
 τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς φήμης, ii., 11.
 ἄποιος φύσις, x., 41.
 ἀποκρίνειν—τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἀποκρινόμενα, xx., 88.
 ἀποκτείνειν πρόρριζόν τινα, iii., 12.
 ἀποκνύσκειν—γεννᾶν καὶ ἀποκνύσκεσθαι, xxiii., 113.
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τινος, ii., 11.
 ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς κατηγορίας, sive διαβολάς, ii., 11.
 ἀποπίπτειν—*excidere*, or *fall short of*, Θεοῦ, xxii., 102 : τοῦ μεγέ-
 θους, xxii., 104.
 ἀπόπτυστος καὶ Θεοστουγής, xxx., 149.
 ἀπόρροια τοῦ Θεοῦ, spiritus, x., 42 ; xxiv., 117.
 ἀποσκευάζειν, -ζεσθαι, ἐπήρειαν, ii., 6 ; ix., 37.
 ἀποτέμνειν ἐν μόριον παιδείας, vi., 22.
 ἀποχή, ἡ, *abstinence*, R., xxii., 110.
 ἀπρονόητος, *without providence*, xxv., 126 ; R., xviii., 86.
 ἀπροσπαθής, R., xviii., 89.
 ὑπτεσθαι, of food, iii., 12 ; xxxiv., 104.
 ἄρά γε . . . ἦ, R., xix., 91.
 Ἄργος, Cyclops, xviii., 79.
 Ἀρμενιакός, *titulus imperat.*, i., caption.
 ἀρσενόδηλος, xxii., 98.
 ἄρσην, xx., 86 ; xxii., 99.
 ἀσκέδαστος, R., xx., 95.
 ὥτε δὴ, *cum gen. abs.*, R., xvi., 75.
 ἀτιμοῦν, xxxiv., 163.
 αὐ—ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐ, R., xii., 52.
 αὐξὴ καὶ ἐπίδοσις *imperii*, xxxvii., 173.
 αὐτοποίητος, xxxiv., 163.
 αὐτός—αὐτοῦ for a common *ἐαυτοῦ*, ii., 8 ; iv., 16 ; vii., 28 ; x., 44 :
 αὐτῷ for *ἐαυτῷ*, xvi., 64 ; xxii., 98 ; xxxvi., 168 : αὐτοῖς for
ἐαυτοῖς, xiv., 58 ; xxv., 127 ; xxvii., 133 ; R., i., 3 : αὐτούς for
ἐαυτούς, xxvi., 129 ; xxxi., 157 ; vide *ἐκεῖνος et οὗτος*.
 ἀφασία—ἐν ἀφασία ποιῆσαι, xxv., 125.
 ἀχάρητος God, x., 38 ; Jupiter, xx., 88.

B.

β, written with υ, R., xii., 53 (σεννυμένην pro σβεννυμένην).

βιάζεσθαι, *to use force, vi (non jure) agere*, xxxiv., 164.

βίος et ζωή joined, R., xiii., 57; R., xv., 67; R., xix., 91.

βιώτιον, τό, xxv., 124.

βουκολεῖν ἐαυτὸν ἐλπίσιν, R., xiii., 57.

βουλητός, R., xi., 43.

Γ.

γάρ introduces a reason for an implied opinion, R., xviii., 87.

γε et τε commutata, xxiv., 116: δέ γε, R., iv., 20: καίτοι γε, iii., 12.

γελοῖος, i., 1.

γενητός, iv., 15.

γέννημα πρῶτον, the Logos, x., 41.

γίνεσθαι, not γίγνεσθαι, vi., 26; R., xix., 92: γινόμε. et γενόμε. commutata, R., xix., 91: also, γενόμενος et γεννώμενος, R., v., 23.

γινώσκειν, not γιγνώσκειν, xiii., 54.

γνώσις τοῦ Θεοῦ, R., i., 3.

γογγύλη, ή, iv., 14.

Δ.

Δ et Δ commutata, ii., 11 (ἀπολυσάμενοι).

δαί et δέ commutata, xxiv., 116.

δέ very far from μέν, to which it corresponds, xxiv., 118; xxv., 124; post participia, xxxiv., 163: δέ γε, R., iv., 20; vide δαί et μέν.

δεδίττεσθαι, xxxi., 154.

δεῖ—τί δεῖ λέγειν, xxix., 148.

δεικνύναι, R., ii., 11; R., iii., 17, et al.: δεικνύειν, iv., 15; vi., 21, et al.; with two accus., *to make into*, xxxii., 158.

δεῖπνον—δ. Θυσία, quod vide.

δεσπόται, compell. imperat., xxxii., 159.

δημεύειν μυστήρια, iv., 14.

δημιουργεῖν—δημιουργήσας καὶ διοικῶν τὸ πᾶν deus, R., v., 23.

δημιουργία, *creation*, R., xiv., 64; R., xviii., 85.

δημιουργός, vide ποιητής.

δῆμος, λαός, ἔθνος, R., xix., 94.

δημός, οἱ δημοί, *humors*, R., vii., 30.

- δήπου γε, R., xxi., 103.
 διαθρύπτειν εἰς πλῆθος ζώων, R., iv., 20: τὸ διατεθρυμμένον πλῆθει
 ζώων, R., iii., 19.
 διαιρεῖν, *distinguish*, εἰς τι, xxiii., 108.
 διαλύεσθαι, active, xxxvii., 172.
 διανέμειν καὶ διατάπτειν, xi., 44.
 διάπλαστος, de semine humano, R., xvii., 81.
 διαπόρῃσις, ἡ, R., iii., 19.
 διαφορεῖν, *disperse, evaporate*, R., vii., 30.
 δίκη καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, vi., 26.
 δικάζεσθαι τι, i., 5.
 δικαιοσύνη quid, xxxii., 159.
 δικαιοῦν, *justify*, R., xiv., 65.
 δίκη—δίκην ὑπέχειν, undergo punishment, iii., 13: οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ
 (πεποιημένοι) ἑλεγχοί, judicial proofs, ii., 7.
 διφῆς = ἄρσενόθηλος, of Jupiter, xxii., 98.
 δόγμα, R., ii., 11: δόγματα, R., xiv., 60; rules of life, xi., 45.
 δογματίζειν, oppos. διαπορεῖν, v., 18.
 δουλαγωγεῖν, R., xi., 92.
 δύναμις, *the divine being*, x., 43; xviii., 74: δυνάμεις, of angels, xxiv.,
 117: δυνάμεις τοῦ Θεοῦ, deified forces of nature, xvi., 65.
 δυσθάνατος, *dying miserably*, R., iv., 20.

E.

- ἔγγονος et ἔκγονος commutata, R., xii., 50.
 ἐγκόπτειν καὶ ἐκτέμνειν, xxvi., 129.
 ἐγώ—μοι in interrog. καὶ μή μοι γελοῖον, x., 39: cum imper. σκέψασθί
 μοι, xiii., 53; xviii., 76.
 ἐδράζειν, xiii., 54.
 ἐθέλειν et θέλειν, i., 1; xxxii., 158, et al.
 ἔθνος, vide δῆμος.
 εἰ in interrog., viii., 31; without apodosis, R., ii., 10: εἰ γε for ἐπεὶ
 γε, R., vii., 32.
 εἰδέναι—οἶδα Θεούς, xiv., 56.
 εἶδος—εἶδη τῆς ὕλης, xv., 62; xxii., 98; xxiv., 118.
 εἰδωλομανής, xxvii., 133.
 εἶναι—ἵστίην understood with a participle, R., ii., 10.

- εἰπεῖν—τὸ δὲ συμπᾶν εἰπεῖν, R., xx., 98; vide *συναρεῖν* et *συνόλως*.
 εἰρμός, ὁ, φυσικός, R., xiv., 61: τῶν φυσικῶς γενομένων, R., xvii., 84:
 καθ' εἰρμόν ἐπόμενον, R., xiii., 59: ἐφεξῆς καθ' εἰρμόν ἐπόμενα, R.,
 i., 3.
 εἰς—καθ' ἓνα, i., 3.
 εἶτα in interrog., xii., 51.
 ἕκαστοι τῶν πεφυσιολογηκότων, xxii., 101.
 ἐκβαίνειν—δὲ τὴν τοῦ τρέφειν ἐκβέβηκε δύναμιν, R., v., 24.
 ἐκβόσκειν, R., iv., 21.
 ἐκγονος, vide ἔγγονος.
 ἐκεῖθεν, temporal, R., viii., 35.
 ἐκεῖνος, of a matter following, xxvi., 130: joined with αὐτός, R.,
 iii., 19.
 ἐκθεσμος, R., viii., 35.
 ἐκλαγχάνειν—ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξελεγχμένος, R., vii., 31.
 ἐκστασις, ix., 35.
 ἐκτιθέναι τὸ γεννηθέν, xxxv., 167: ὁ ἐκτιθεῖς, *who exposes* (an infant),
 id.
 ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, i., 4.
 ἑλένη Ἀδράστεια, i., 1.
 ἐμαντοῦ, where more are concerned, xxxi., 156.
 ἐμπαθής, R., xxv., 127.
 ἐναποσφραγίζεσθαι, xxvii., 134.
 ἐνδοξος, R., ix., 37.
 ἐνέργεια τοῦ Θεοῦ, R., i., 3; vide λόγος.
 ἐνεργεῖν, of the power of the Holy Ghost, τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι
 προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα, x., 43: ἐνεργεῖσθαι τι; prophetae a *ἐνερ-*
γοῦντο a spiritu divino ἐξεφώνησαν, ix., 35.
 ἐνθεος—ἐνθ. πνεῦμα, vii., 29.
 ἐνθεσμος; expl. by ἐννομος, R., xxiii., 115.
 ἐνιέναι—νεῖναι, R., i., 7.
 ἐννοια φυσική, R., xiv., 60: in a bad sense, μέχρις ἐννοιας καὶ ἐπιθυ-
 μίας ἐλθεῖν, xxxiii., 162.
 ἐνοῦν, xxiv., 117; xxiv., 118; R., ii., 12; R., ii., 14; R., iii., 19, et al.
 ἐνστασις τοῦ βίου, xxxi., 154.
 ἐνυβρίζειν εἰς τινα, *desacere, to be exasperated*, ii., 7; absolute, xxiv.,
 121.
 ἐξάκουστος, xi., 47.

- ἔξιναι*—*ἔξόν*, R., xiv., 65.
ἔυβρίζειν εἰς τινα, R., ix., 36.
ἐπεὶ, *quoniam*, cum indic. ita ut oratio addito οὖν recipiatur, ix., 35.
ἐπισκυκλεῖν, R., xx., 96.
ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τοῖς ἀδικήμασι, iii., 12.
ἐπερίδειν, R., xiv., 64.
ἐπέχειν, *preserve or retain*, ἓνα καὶ κοινὸν λόγον, xxv., 127: *inde ἐπέχειν τὸν κόσμον*, *mundum gubernari*, viii., 33: *ὁ ἐπέχων (the ruling) ἄρχων*, xxv., 127.
ἐπί, cum gen. *in relation to*, xxvi., 130: *ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ*, ii., 8: cum dat. *in relation to*, xxxvi., 168: *ἐπί* cum dat. et accus. saepe commutatum, R., xiii., 58; R., xiv., 61.
ἐπιβάλλειν τινι, vii., 28.
ἐπιβατεῦειν cum dat. *τοῖς ὀνόμασι*, xxiii., 107: *τοῖς νοήμασι*, xxvii., 134.
ἐπιγαμεῖν quid, xxxiii., 162.
ἐπιδεικνύειν, vi., 22.
ἐπιδιδόναι, vide *χυχή*.
ἐπιδρομή—*συντόμως καὶ κατ' ἐπιδρομήν*, R., xix., 90.
ἐπικαλεῖν τινί τι, *to charge something on some one*, iv., 14; xiii., 53; xiv., 56, 58.
ἐπιλείπειν—*ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα*, xiv., 58.
ἐπινεύειν κεφαλὴν, xxxvii., 172.
ἐπισπορά, R., xi., 46.
ἐπίσταςθαι, *recognize*, i., 1.
ἐπιστασία = *ἐπίστας*, R., xxiv., 118.
ἐπισυμβαίνειν—*τὰ ἐπισυμβεβηκότα θεῶν*, *attributes of God*, xxiii., 112.
ἐπισυγκεραννύναι, *mingle*, —*κραθεῖς*, xxvii., 133.
ἐπισυνείρειν, R., iv., 22.
ἐπιφύειν, aor. 2 *ἐπεφύην*, R., xi., 46.
Ἐρεχθεὺς Ποσειδῶν, i., 1.
ἕτεροί τε καὶ ἕτεροι, R., iv., 22.
εὐεξέλεγκτος, R., ii., 11.
εὐθύνειν ἐπὶ τινος, ii., 9.
εὐννοχία, *de caelibatu*, xxxiii., 162.
εὐσέβεια περὶ τὸ θεῖον, xxviii., 137.
ἐφιστάναι (scil. *τὴν γνώμην*) *περὶ τινος*, v., 17.

ἔχειν—μή ὡς περὶ ἀθέων ἔχειν, xi., 45: ἔχειν (*hold*) τι τῶν περὶ σπουδῆς, xxxv., 166.

Z.

ζάκωρος, ὁ, *sacerdos*, xxviii., 139.

Ζεύς—κατὰ τὸ ζεῖον τῆς ὕλης, as the Stoics say, vi., 26: ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία, xxii., 98.

ζωή et βίος joined, R., xiii., 57; R., xv., 67; R., xix., 91: ζωή ἐμφρων καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως, R., xxv., 127.

ζῶον, *animal*, R., iv., 21; R., xii., 56; R., xv., 67; of God, vi., 25.

H.

H et EI commutata, xxi., 91 (*διηγῶ*).

ἦ—ἦ γὰρ οὐ in interrog., R., xxiv., 120.

ἦ—ἦ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο, xix., 83: ἦ τίς ἂν ἐπίστευσεν, R., xvii., 81: ἦ et καὶ commutata, R., iv., 20: item, ἦ, ἦ, ὅ, ὅ, xxi., 92.

ἦδέως ἰδεῖν, *lasciue intueri*, xxxii., 159.

ἦδη, *illūco*, xxi., 92: ἦδη καὶ, xxi., 92; xxv., 127.

ἡμερον σπέρμα, vide ἄγριος.

ἡνιοχεῖν τὰ ποιήματα, v., 20.

Ἡρα κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα, as the Stoics say, vi., 26: ὁ ἀήρ, xxii., 98.

Ἡρακλειωτικός, xx., 86.

ἡρεμος, xxxvii., 173.

Θ.

Θαυμάζειν τι τινός, xvi., 67.

Θάλειν, vide ἔθελειν.

Θεοδίδακτος, xi., 45; xxxii., 159.

Θεολογεῖν—οἱ Θεολογῶντες περὶ Θεῶν, xix., 80; xxii., 103: Θεολογεῖσθαι, x., 44: τὰ θεολογημένα, *those objects to which divinity is ascribed*, xix., 80.

Θεολογία, x., 44.

Θεολογικός—τὸ Θεολ. μέρος, x., 44.

Θεοποιεῖν, xxii., 102: τὰς τῶν στοιχείων τροπὰς, xxii., 104: τοὺς μύθους, xxii., 103.

Θεοστυγής, xxx., 149.

Θεόφατος, id. quod Θέσφατος, xi., 45.

Θηριόμορφος, xx., 88.

Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, iii., 12.

I.

ἰδέα, vide λόγος.

ἰδιαζόντως, R., xxi., 106.

ἰδιοπραγία, R., xxii., 111.

ἰδιος et οἰκίος commutata, R., xii., 50.

ἰδρύνεσθαι θέους, xiv., 57.

ἰνδαλματώδης, *imaginary*, ἰνδ. κινήσεις, xxvii., 133.

ἴσος—ἐπ' ἴσης τινί, R., ii., 16.

ἴσχειν χώραν, R., viii., 35.

ἰχθύς—δικην ἰχθύων ζῆν, proverbial, xxxiv., 163.

K.

κάθαρσις καὶ διάκρισις, threefold as to foods, R., vi., 25.

καί, *et quidem*, x., 44; *et tamen*, id. Partic. illative, viii., 33; in comparison, xv., 62: ὥς καὶ . . . καί, xxiv., 120: in a wish, καὶ μὴ παρακροσθῆτε, i., 2: καὶ μὴν καί, R., xxi., 100; vide ἦ.

καιροί, the four seasons, xxii., 99.

καίτοι γε, iii., 12.

κᾶν, elliptical, xx., 87: κᾶν εἰ, xxiv., 118.

κανονίζειν—κανονίζεται ὁ βίος ὡς πρὸς στάθμην τὸν θεόν, xxxi., 156.

κατά—κατ' ἀξίαν et κατ' ἀνολογίαν, R., xxii., 111.

καταβάλλειν λῆρον, *belch out nonsense*, xxi., 92.

κατάγειν, *peragere*, θυσίας καὶ μυστήρια, i., 1: *inferre*, R., xviii., 87.

καταλαγχάνειν, R., xv., 67.

κατασκεδάζειν, *to pour upon*, i., 5.

κατηγορήματα καὶ ἀξιώματα, xi., 47.

κατορθοῦν, absolute, vi., 22.

κινεῖν πάντα λόγον, *scrutinize*, xxiv., 116.

κλέπτειν ἢ ληστεύειν, R., xxiii., 116.

Κόρη, *Minerva*, ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης, xx., 85: auctor coroplathices (?), xvii., 70.

κοροπλαθική, xvii., 70.

κοσμεῖν—ποιεῖν καὶ κοσμεῖν, viii., 32.

Κόττυς, centimanus, xviii., 79.

κρατεῖν θεόν, *to keep God in mind*, vi., 24.

κρατύνειν, *to affirm*, vii., 27: τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ζωὴν, R., xii., 54.

Κράτων, artificer, xvii., 70.

κρείττων, *qui non superatur*, θυμοῦ, xxi., 89: ἐπιθυμίας, xxix., 147.

κρίνειν—κεκριμένος ἄνθρωπος, xx., 87.

κριτήριον, R., vi., 25.

κτηνώδης, R., xix., 92.

κυκλοφορητικῶς, vi., 25.

Λ.

Λ, vide Δ.

λαός, vide δῆμος.

λάγνος γυνή, xxx., 149.

λῆρος πολὺς, xxxvi., 170.

λόγος, *verbum*, ἐνὶ λόγῳ, i., 1: ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, *ut ita dicam*, xvii., 68:

λόγοι γέλωτος, *verba risus digna*, xxi., 89: λόγοι ὑπὲρ καὶ περὶ αληθείας, vide περί. λόγος καταλείπεται, *dubitatio relinquitur*, xxviii.,

41: de *religione* (Christiani), ii., 11: *ratio*; λόγος ἔμφυτος, R.,

xxiv., 121: φυσικός, R., xxv., 127: οὐ λόγον ἔχει, *rationi non est consentaneum*, xix., 83; vide νοῦς: *logos divinus*; ὁ παρὰ Θεοῦ

λόγος, x., 38: λόγος ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, x., 40.

λοιδορεῖσθαι τινί τι, xxx., 163.

Μ.

μᾶλλον δέ, xvii., 72; xxxii., 160.

μέγας—μεγάλοι βασιλέων, i., 1.

μέλλειν—ἡμελλον, R., ii., 15.

Μέμφις, dat. Μεμφι, xxviii., 135.

μέν non seq. δέ, xxiv., 117; xxvi., 129: seq. καί, xxxv., 167: seq.

καὶ τοῦναντίον, R., xviii., 89: οἱ μὲν . . . ἡμεῖς δέ, vii., 27; xxxii., 159: μὲν ὦν et μένων commutata, xxii., 99.

μέρος καὶ μόριον, quid, R., ii., 14; R., iii., 19.

μέσος—τὸ διὰ μέσου, *an interval*, iv., 15.

μετὰ Θεοῦ καὶ σὺν Θεῷ, xxxi., 157.

μεταβάλλειν, *exchange* (signific. media), xxx., 149.

Μετάνειρα, xiv., 57.

μέτριος—τὸ μετριώτατον, in apposition, xi., 47: μετρίως εἶρηται, R., xi., 44.

μέτρον, τό—δικαιοσύνης, xxxii., 159.

μέχρις ὑπονοίας, i., 5 : μ. ὀνόματος, ii., 6 : μ. τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι, xxxiii., 161 : μ. τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδέων, xxxiii., 161 : μ. ἐννοίας ἐλθεῖν, xxxiii., 162 : μ. ἐννοίας κριθῆσεσθαι, xxxii., 159 : μέχρι μήπω ἦσαν, xvii., 70.

μηδέ, vide ὅλως.

Μηδικὴ τράπεζα, R., iv., 22.

μικρῶς εἰρημένα, R., xxiv., 118.

μίξεις—μ. Οἰδιπόδαιοι, quod vide.

μειώθηρος, R., viii., 35.

μονόγαμος, xxxiv., 163.

μόνος—οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλά, i., 5 : μὴ μόνον . . . δέ, iv., 15 ; vide νόμος.

μονοφυής, xxiii., 112.

μόριον, τό, vide μέρος.

N.

ν ἐφελκ. often (in Athenag.) before consonants, i., caption ; R., iv., 20 ; R., xii., 55, et al.

Νερυλλῖνος, xxvi., 130.

νήπιος oppos. τῷ τελείῳ, R., xvii., 83.

νοητός—νοηταὶ φύσεις *angels*, R., x., 38.

νομίζεσθαι (pass.), *to be in use*, xvii., 70.

νόμος φύσεως, of instinct, iii., 12 : νόμος et μόνος commutata, R., xxiv., 121.

νοῦς καὶ λόγος, of God, x., 40 ; xxiv., 117 : of men, iv., 15 ; x., 38 ; R., xv., 71 : ὡς ἔχει νοῦς oppos. ἀνεπιστημόνως, v., 18.

νῦν—δὴ νῦν, R., ix., 36.

Ξ.

Ξενηλατεῖν, xxiv., 116.

ξόανον, τό, iv., 14.

O.

ὁ artic. repeated, xxvi., 128 ; vide μέν.

Οἰδιπόδαιοι μίξεις, iii., 12 ; xxxi., 154.

οἰκεῖος, vide ἴδιος.

οἰκονομία Θεῖα, xxi., 92.

οἰκουμένη, ἡ, *the Roman empire*, i., 1.

- ὀλοκαύτωσις, ἡ, xiii., 55.
 ὀλωσ—μηδ' ὀλωσ, i., 2; iv., 14; R., ii., 13; R., xxi., 104: οὐδ' ὀλωσ, R., xvii., 83.
 ὀμόχρονος, R., i., 2.
 ὄναρ, used adverbially, xiii., 53.
 Ὀνήσιλος, xiv., 57.
 ὄπου γε, R., viii., 33.
 ὀρθότης βίου, xxxi., 155.
 ὀρμᾶν—ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, ii., 9.
 ὀρός, *seruit* (lactis), xii., 52.
 ὅσον, cum infin., vii., 28.
 ὅτι beginning a proposition, iv., 14.
 οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλά, i., 5.
 οὐν seems superfluous, i., 2.
 οὐσία, R., xv., 70.
 οὔτε . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ, R., xxiv., 122; vide ὀλωσ.
 οὔτος joined with αὐτός, xxxiv., 164: in contempt, xxiv., 116: pleonastic after the article, R., xxiii., 113: τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ, *partly . . . partly*, xx., 85: ταύτη, in this way, R., x., 41.
 ὄχλος ἐγκλημάτων, *multitude of charges*, i., 5.
 ὄψις—ὄψει, v., 19.

Π.

- παλαιουῖσθαι χρόνῳ, R., ix., 36.
 πᾶν, τὸ, R., ii., 15.
 πανδεχής—ἡ πανδ. ὕλη, xv., 60.
 παντελικός—παντ. τῶν ὄλων πρόνοια, *oppos. προν. ἐπὶ μέρους*, xxiv., 119.
 πάντη (καὶ) κατάπας, R., i., 3; R., xix., 91.
 παρά—ἡ παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπιμέλεια, R., xviii., 86: παρ' (*propter*) ἣν αἰτίαν, R., xvi., 78.
 παραβολοῦν, xxxii., 160.
 παρακρούεσθαι, i., 2.
 παραπέμπεσθαι ὑπό τινος, *to be led to the future life*, xii., 51.
 παραφθορά, R., xi., 46.
 πάρεργον, adv., xxxi., 157.
 παρέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν βίον, xxv., 167.
 πάρεσις—παρέσεις τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, R., xvi., 78.

- παρηβᾶν—οἱ παρηβηκότες (men) distinguished from τοῖς τελείοις (youth) et τοῖς γεγηρακόσι (the old), R., xvii., 88.
- παρθενία, ἡ, xxxiii., 162.
- παριστᾶν, xi., 48.
- πᾶς—ἐν πᾶσι (neutr.), xvii., 68.
- περί et ὑπέρ—λόγοι ὑπέρ καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας, how distinguished, R., i., 4; R., xi., 45, 46: τὰ περὶ σπουδῆς = τὰ περισπούδεστα, xxv., 166; οἱ περὶ τινα, xxvi., 129.
- περιέχειν, to excel, xvi., 63.
- περινοῆσαι, vii., 28.
- πιστεύειν—πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν, xxiv., 118.
- πλατύς—γέλως πλατ., a laugh with the mouth wide open, R., xix., 92.
- πλέον, cum dat., iii., 13: οὐδὲν πλέον, nihil prodest, xxii., 105: τί πλέον, quid prodest, v., 19; xxvi., 132. Always in Supplic. πλέον, but in De Resurr. πλεῖον is used, R., vi., 28.
- πλέω, πλεουσῶμαι, xxii., 105.
- πληροῦσθαι τι τινός, implere aliquid aliqua re, v., 20.
- πνεῦμα, the divine Spirit, God, x., 40: πν. ὑλικόν et καθαρόν, xxvii., 133: ἅγιον, x., 43: προφητικόν, x., 42: θεῖον, ix., 35: τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, vii., 29.
- ποιητῆς καὶ δημιουργός, God, x., 44.
- πολύς—περὶ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν ἐστι, xxii., 160: πολὺ γ' ἐτι μᾶλλον, R., v., 31.
- πόρνη—ἡ πορ. τὴν σφύρα, a proverb, xxxiv., 163.
- Ποσειδῶν ἡ πόσις, xxii., 98.
- ποτὲ μὲν . . . ἄλλοτε δέ, vii., 30.
- πᾶγμα, τό, ποιεῖσθαι τι, xi., 47.
- πρεσβεία, supplicatio, Plea, περὶ χρ., i., caption.
- πρό et πρὸς commutata, R., xxv., 127.
- προανείργειν, xi., 45.
- προβαίνειν—προβεβηκώς, aged, xxxii., 160.
- προδιαλύειν, R., viii., 35.
- προκαθαίρειν, aor. 1; -κάθηρα, R., i., 7.
- πρόνοια, ἡ, αἰδιος et ἐπὶ μέρους, xxv., 126; vide παντελικός.
- πρόβριζος, vide ἀποκτείνειν.
- πρὸς with gen. signif., what becomes any one, ii., 7: πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δ' αὐτοῦ (τοῦ λόγου) πάντα ἐγένετο, x., 40; with accus., what relates to, v., 20; vide πρό.

- προσήκων λογισμός, ix., 87.
 προσεῖναι προσόδους τινί, *make approaches to some one*, xviii., 74.
 προσκύνημα, *salutation*, xxxii., 160.
 προσκυνητέον, xvi., 68.
 πρόσμιξις, xxxiii., 162.
 πρόσσδος—προσόδους ἀναφέρειν, xviii., 74.
 προσπηλακίζειν κατὰ κόρρης, *give a blow*, i., 5.
 προστίθεσθαι, scil. ψῆφον, ii., 8.
 προστρίβειν τινὶ αἰτίαν, iv., 16.
 προτομή, ἡ, xx., 85.
 πρῶτον, resp. δέ, xiii., 53; R., xiv., 63: πρ. μέν . . . δέ, R., xvii., 83:
 πρ. μέν . . . οὐκ ἦκιστα δέ, R., i., 2, 3.
 πρωτοπαθεῖν, R., xxi., 102.
 πρωτοστατεῖν, R., i., 6; R., xi., 45.
 πῦρ τεχνικόν, vi., 26.

Σ.

- σαρκοειδής, xxi., 89; xxi., 91.
 Σαρματικός, *titulus imperat.*, i., caption.
 Σαυρίας, *artist*, xvii., 70.
 σεμνοποιεῖν = σεμνοῦν, xxviii., 139; xxix., 153.
 σεμνός—τὸ σεμνὸν ἢ χρηστόν, xx., 87; τὸ σ. τῆς καταγωγῆς, *magnificence of the palace*, xvi., 63: ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον περὶ τινος ἱστορεῖν, xxx., 153.
 σημαντικός—σημ. ὄνομα, xxiii., 115.
 σκαιός, xxi., 90.
 σκεδαστός, R., xviii., 89.
 σμῆνος, τό, ἀξέστητος, R., xx., 96.
 σπέρμα ἀναβάλλειν, xiii., 54: καταβάλλειν εἰς γῆν, xxxiii., 161: εἰς μῆτραν, xxii., 99.
 σπερματικοὶ λόγοι, vi., 26.
 σπουδαῖος, oppos. φαῦλος, R., xix., 93; et ἀπιστος, quod vide: σπουδαῖόν τινι, *desirable to any one*, i., 5.
 στέργειν τὰ πάτρια, i., 1.
 στερέωμα, xxiv., 121.
 στοιχεῖα, *elements*, xxii., 104; *stars*, xvi., 66.
 στοργή, ἡ, R., xii., 50.
 συγγίνεσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, xvii., 68.

- συγκαταπίπτειν, xxxi., 157.
 συγκρίματα, xxii., 97.
 συγκρώζειν, xxiv., 118.
 συμβαίνειν—τὸ συμβεβηκὸς θεῶ, *attribute of God*, xxiv., 118.
 συμπάθεια—ἡ, τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνοῆς, vii., 28.
 συμπληροῦν, —συμπληρούμενον ὄν, xviii., 78.
 σὺν θεῷ et μετὰ θεοῦ, xxxi., 157.
 συναρεῖν—συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, xvii., 73.
 συναναρεῖν, R., vii., 30.
 συναποφέρεισθαι, ii., 11.
 συνάπτειν, xxviii., 141.
 συναρπαγή, R., xxi., 100.
 συνδιαρεῖν, R., vi., 28.
 συνδιαγωνίζειν, R., xii., 54.
 συνδιαπλέκειν, R., vi., 26.
 συνδιασκέπτεισθαι, R., xix., 91.
 συνδρομή, ἡ, R., xxi., 100.
 συνεκτίμλημα, R., vii., 31.
 συνεκφωνεῖν, xxii., 98.
 συνεξισοῦν, R., vi., 25.
 συνεξισοῦν, R., ix., 36.
 συνεφελκεῖν, of foods, *to partake*, R., vi., 27.
 συνόλως εἰπεῖν, R., xv., 72.
 συντήκειν, in perf. active intrans. *to pine away*, xxii., 104.
 σύστασις, xxiv., 119.
 σσφαιροῦν, xiii., 54.
 σωτηρία metonym. *servatrix*, xxviii., 137.
 σώφρων, vide πόρνη.

T.

- τάξις, ii., 8.
 τε et γε commutata, xxiv., 116; τε γάρ, viii., 33.
 τεκνοκτονεῖν, xx., 86.
 τεκνοφαγία, ἡ, R., iv., 22.
 τέλειος κόσμος, God, xvi., 64: τελ. of youths, R., xvii., 83.
 τέλος—ἐπομένων τοῖς γινομ. τελῶν, xxiii., 113.
 τέμνειν, *distinguish*, εἰς τι, xxiii., 109.
 Τέννης, i., 1.

L

τέχνη, *a work of art*, xvi., 65.
 τηνάλλως, xvi., 63.
 τοσοῦτος—ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος, xvii., 71.
 τριπτός, *triple*, R., vi., 25.
 Τυνδάρεως, i., 1.

Υ.

ὕλη, xv., 60; vide εἶδος.
 ὑπένδοσις, R., v., 24.
 ὑπέρ τινος ἀπολογ., ii., 11; vide περί.
 ὑπεκκύπτειν τῷ λόγῳ et εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια, xxii., 104.
 ὑπερφρονεῖν τινα συνέσει, xxxi., 156.
 ὑπέχειν δίκην, *to suffer penalties*, iii., 13.
 ὑποδιαλλάσσειν, xx., 88.
 ὑπόστασις, ἡ, τῆς οὐσίας, xxiv., 121.

Φ.

φαινόμενα, τά, v., 19.
 φάναι, *recognize*, xxiv., 117.
 φαρμακώδης, *poisoned*, R., vi., 27: φαρ. ποιότητες, R., vi., 26.
 φέρειν, *to bear on the tongue, celebrate*, xiv., 57.
 Φερσεφόνη, xx., 85.
 φεύγειν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις scil. ἀδικήμασι, *to be accused of the greatest crimes*,
 ii., 8.
 φευκτός, oppos. αἰρετός, R., xxii., 110.
 φίλημα et προσκύνημα, xxxii., 160.
 Φιλονόη, i., 1.
 Φιλόσοφος, titulus imperat., i., caption.
 φόβος δίκης, *fear of punishment*, i., 1.
 Φόρκος, xxiii., 111.

Χ.

χαλιναγωγεῖν, R., xv., 72.
 χαμᾶθεν, xxiii., 115.
 χεῖρ—τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ παραβαίνειν, xxxiii., 162: χεῖρες of handi-
 work, xvii., 72.
 χθές καὶ πρῶην, xvii., 68.
 χριστιανός, *adject.*, i., caption.
 χροία, ἡ, of the world, iv., 16.

χνμός, ὁ, *humor*, R., vi., 28; χ. μοχθηροί, R., vi., 26.
χωρίς, after its genitive, R., xiii., 58; R., xv., 69.

Ψ.

ψυχή—ἐπιδιδόναι τὴν ψυχήν, iii., 13.

Ω.

ὠόν—its two parts, τὸ κατὰ κορυφὴν et τὸ κατενεχθέν, xviii., 78.
ὥς . . . καί, *quemadmodum . . . ita etiam*, xv., 62: ὥς καί . . . καί,
xxiv., 120: inverse order, καί . . . ὥς, xxxi., 157: so ὥς . . .
οὐδέ, xxii., 105: ὥς μὲν πρὸς . . . ὥς δὲ πρὸς, R., i., 6: ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ
πλεῖστον, vii., 27.
ὥσπεροῦν, R., v., 24.

INDEX

OF PLACES CITED BY ATHENAGORAS.

THE BIBLE.

GENESIS.

- i.....xiii., 54.
vi., 2.....xxiv., 121.

EXODUS.

- xx., 2-3.....ix., 35.
xx., 12.....R., xxiii., 114.
xx., 13.....R., xxiii., 114.
xx., 13-17.....R., xxiii., 113.

PROVERBS.

- viii., 22.....x., 42.
xxi., 1.....xviii., 75.

ISAIAH.

- xxii., 13.....xii., 51.
".....R., xix., 92.
xliii., 10, 11.....ix., 36, 37.
xliv., 6.....ix., 36.
lxvi., 1.....ix., 37.

MATTHEW.

- v., 28.....xxxii., 159.
v., 29.....xxxii., 160.
v., 39, 40.....i., 5.
v., 39, 40, 42, 43.....xi., 48.
v., 44, 45.....xi., 46.
v., 46.....xii., 51.
x., 28.....R., xxi., 105.
xix., 4.....xxxiii., 162.
xix., 5.....xxxiii., 162.
xix., 9.....xxxiii., 162.

LUKE.

- vi., 27, 28.....xi., 46.
vi., 29.....i., 5.
vi., 29, 30.....xi., 48.
vi., 32, 34.....xii., 51.
xviii., 20.....R., xxiii., 113.
xviii., 27.....R., ix., 37.

JOHN.

- i., 3.....iv., 16.
".....x., 40.
iv., 24.....R., xxii., 111.
xvii., 3.....xii., 51.
xvii., 21-23.....x., 40.

DICTUM *ἀγραφον*.

xxxii., 160.

ROMANS.

- i., 20.....v., 19.
i., 27.....xxxiv., 163.
viii., 18.....xii., 49.
viii., 21.....R., x., 39.
xii., 1.....xiii., 55.
xiii., 9.....R., xxiii., 113.

1 CORINTHIANS.

- ix., 27.....R., xix., 92.
xv., 28.....xvi., 63.
xv., 32.....xii., 51.
".....R., xix., 92.
xv., 51-53.....R., xii., 56.
xv., 53.....R., xvi., 75.

xv., 53.....R., xviii., 89.

2 CORINTHIANS.

v., 10.....R., xviii., 89.

GALATIANS.

iv., 9.....xvi., 65.

COLOSSIANS.

iii., 11.....xvi., 64.

1 TIMOTHY.

ii., 2.....xxxvii., 173.

vi., 16.....xvi., 64.

HEBREWS.

xi., 11.....xxii., 99.

PROFANE WRITINGS.

Orpheus, *Fragm.*.....xviii., 76.

“ “xviii., 79.

“ “xx., 87.

HOMER, ODYSSEY.

viii., 296-298.....xxi., 91.

viii., 308, 309.....xxi., 91.

xxi., 28, 29.....xxix., 145.

HOMER, ILIAD.

ii., 820, 821.....xxi., 92.

iii., 39.....xxvi., 131.

iv., 23.....xxi., 89.

v., 31.....xxi., 91.

v., 376.....xxi., 91.

v., 858.....xxi., 91.

ix., 499-501.....xiii., 55.

xiv., 201 (302).....xviii., 76.

xiv., 246.....xviii., 76.

xiv., 315-327.....xxi., 92.

xv., 605.....xxi., 91.

xvi., 433, 434.....xxi., 90.

xvi., 522.....xxi., 90.

xvi., 672.....xii., 51.

xx., 131.....xviii., 74.

xxii., 168, 169.....xxi., 90.

Hesiod, *Theog.*, 27....xxiv., 122.

“ “ 961....xiv., 57.

“ *Oper.*, 277, 278

xxxiv., 163.

“ *Fragm.*.....xxix., 146.

Herodotus, *Hist.*,

ii., 3.....xxviii., 140.

ii., 41.....xxviii., 138.

ii., 53.....xvii., 69.

ii., 61.....xxviii., 142.

ii., 86.....xxviii., 144.

ii., 144.....xxviii., 136.

ii., 156.....xxviii., 137.

ii., 170....xxviii., 143.

Pindar, *Pyth.*,

iii., 54-58....xxix., 146.

Aeschylus, *Fragm.*, *incer. Fab.*,

xxi., 94.

Sophocles, *Fragm.*....v., 20.

Euripides, *Alcest.*,

1, 2.....xxi., 93.

8, 9.....xxi., 93.

“ *Cycl.*,

332, 333....xxv., 126.

“ *Dan. s. Belleroph.*

xxix., 147.

“ *Ino*.....xxix., 148.

“ *Melan*....v., 19.

“ *Fragm.*, *incer. Fab.*

v., 17.

“ “ v., 18.

“ “ xxv., 124.

“ “ xxv., 125.

Tragedians uncertain,

Fragm......xxvi., 129.

Empedocles, *Fragm.*....xxii., 95.

“ “xxii., 96.

Plato, *Gorg.*, p. 523....xii., 50.

“ *Tim.*, p. 27....xix., 81.

Plato, Tim., p. 28....vi., 23.	Sibyllin. Oracc.,
“ “ p. 28....xxiii., 115.	iii., 108-113....xxx., 150.
“ “ p. 40.... xxiii., 110.	Proverb.....xxxiv., 163.
“ “ p. 41....vi., 23.	
“ Phaedr., p. 246.xxiii., 114.	PASSAGE CITED BY
“ Ep., ii., p. 312..xxiii., 112.	Methodius ap. Epi-
Callimachus in Jov.,	phan. et Phot.....xxiv., 118.
8-10....xxx., 151.	

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- Abortion, to produce, by drugs is homicide, xxxv., 167.
- Achilles not warned of his approaching death by Apollo, xxi., 94.
- Admetus, xxi., 93.
- Adrastea, Helen with the Trojans, i., 1.
- Adultery, to lock with lust is, xxxii., 159. Second marriage is a specious adultery, xxxiii., 162.
- Aegyptians deify the sky, the earth, the sun, the moon, xxviii., 141. Worship beasts, xiv., 58. Cats, crocodiles, serpents, dogs, i., 1. Cut off the hair of the dead, xiv., 58. Bury them in temples with public lamentation, *ibid.* Sacrifice to the dead as to gods, *ibid.* Aegyptian priests say that there have been men whom the Aegyptians worshiped as gods, xxviii., 136. Names of deities came from the Aegyptians to the Greeks, xxviii., 137.
- Aeschylus, xxi., 94.
- Aesculapius, a god on account of his skill, xxx., 150. His image the work of Phidias, xvii., 72.
- Affections, the, pertain to the whole man, R., xxi., 102.
- Agamemnon, Jupiter the god of the Lacedaemonians, i., 1.
- Agraulos worshiped by the Athenians, i., 1.
- Air (Aer), a twofold principle, xxii., 98. Deified by the Aegyptians, xxiii., 141. Pluto, xxii., 96.
- Aleman, worshiping Medea, xiv., 57.
- Alexander the Great converses with Aegyptian priests, xxviii., 135. His letter to his mother, xxviii., 135; xxviii., 141. A crafty person of the second century, god of the Parians, xxvi., 120.
- Amasis, xxvi., 131.
- Amathusii, the, worship Onesilus, xiv., 58.
- Amphiaraus, a god, xxix., 148.
- Angelio, maker of the Delian god and of Diana, xvii., 72.
- Angels recognized by Christians, x., 44; xxiv., 117. They are spiritual beings, R., x., 38. Continue forever, R., xvi., 75. Exercise free will, xxiv., 120. Exercise dominion over matter, xxiv., 117. Special providences are committed to them, xxiv., 119; x., 44. Certain of those placed about the first firmament have fallen from the skies, xxiv., 121; and haunt the air and earth,

- xxv., 123. From fallen angels giants, i. e., demons, were born, xxiv., 122; xxv., 123. Bad angels excite desires according to the appetites they indulge, xxv., 123. Vide *Demons*.
- Animals. Vide *Beasts*.
- Antinous, a god, xxx., 151.
- Apollo, Orus among the Aegyptians, xxviii., 136. The son of Bacchus (Osiris) and Isis, xxviii., 137. A false prophet, xxi., 94. He tends the flocks of Admetus, xxi., 93. Aristaeus, Apollo with the Ceans, xiv., 57. The statue of Pythian, xvii., 72; of Delian, *ibid*.
- Apollodorus, "De deis," xxviii., 141.
- Argus, xviii., 79.
- Aristaeus, Jupiter and Apollo with the Ceans, xiv., 57.
- Aristoteles, his opinion concerning the Deity, vi., 25. He denies that mundane affairs are under divine providence, xxv., 126.
- Armeniacus, a title of the emperor, i., cap.
- Artificer, the, is superior to his work, xv., 60, 61.
- Asps worshiped by the Aegyptians, i., 1.
- Atheism charged against the Christians, iii., 12; iv., 14.
- Athela Minerva, xvii., 72. Core or Proserpine, xx., 85.
- Athene Minerva, xvii., 72. Her image, *ibid*.
- Athenagoras, Athenian, i., cap.; R., i., cap. Defends Christianity without reserve before the emperors, xi., 47; but prudently. His treatise "De Res. Mort." (R. i. cap.) seems to have been written after the "Supplicatio," xxxvi., 171. Read to hearers, R., xxiii., 117. He seems to have written several treatises; for he says he sometimes introduces arguments in behalf of truth before those concerning it, R., i., 8. He determines to do the same in the treatise "De Res. Mort.," R., i., 8. Says in the "Plea" that he states nothing without witnesses, but only what has been declared by the prophets, xxiv., 121. He confirms the doctrine of the resurrection by philosophical proofs, pages 95, 177-180. Does not detail the practices of Christians, xxxiv., 163.
- Athenians worship Erechtheus as Neptune, i., 1. Agraalos and Pandrosos, *ibid*. Celeus and Metanira, xiv., 57.
- Atropos, xviii., 79.
- Attributes, nature without, x., 41.
- Bacchus, son of Jupiter and Proserpine, xx., 86. Osiris of the Aegyptians, xxviii., 136. Wine, xxii., 102.
- Barbarians feeding upon human flesh, R., iv., 22.
- Beasts do not feed upon those of their own kind, iii., 12. The sexes cohabit only at the period and for the purpose of procreation, *ibid*. They recognize kindnesses done to them, *ibid*. Are without reason, R., xii., 52. Do not have the idea of right, R., x., 40. Are not suited to have dominion, R., xii., 52. Considered gods among the Aegyptians, xiv., 58. Will not exist after the resurrection, R., x., 38.

Beginning, the, of all things, water, xviii., 77.

Body and soul constitute the man, R., xv., 67; R., xv., 71; R., xviii., 88. The union is broken by death, R., xvi., 77, 79. Bodies are formed from the incorporeal (ex incorporeis), xxxvi., 171. The latter older than the former, *ibid.* Of what kind is the resurrection body? R., xxv., 126. Vide *Soul*.

Briareus, xviii., 79.

Brontes, xviii., 79.

Brother as a designation of relationship, xxxii., 160.

Butacidas, xiv., 57.

Cabiria Sacra divulged by Diagoras, iv., 14.

Callimachus ridiculed, xxx., 152.

Carthaginians, the, regard Hamilcar as a god, xiv., 57.

Castor and Pollux, xxix., 148.

Cats worshiped by the Egyptians, i., 1.

Cause, the efficient, precedes the things produced, xix., 83. Two original causes according to the Stoics, xix., 82.

Ceans, the, worship Aristaeus, xiv., 57.

Celeus, a god of the Athenians, xiv., 57.

Celibacy frequent among the Christians, xxxiii., 161.

Ceres and Rhea confounded, xx., 85.

Chastity, the, of the Christians, xxxii., 159, 160.

Christians under the false charges of Atheism, Thyestean feasts, and Oedipodean intercourse, iii., 12; iv., 14; xxxi., 154; xxxii., 158; xxxv., 163. Why they are so

arraigned, xxxiv., 163; xxxi., 154, 155. If these charges are true, the Christians will not seek to escape punishment, even the severest, iii., 12. But there is no one so false as to say that he had seen these, xxxv., 165. The charges are made rashly, ii., 6. They do no evil, i., 4. No Christian has been convicted of wrong, ii., 6. No one has been criminal unless he falsely professed the Christian religion, ii., 9. Christians willingly bear the calumny of enemies since they are in good repute with God, xxxi., 155, 156. They are punished on account of a name, not on the evidence of their guilt, ii., 7. Their name is odious, *ibid.* It should not be hated, but respect should be had to their actions, ii., 8. They are hated and punished because they are called Christians, ii., 9. They ask that they be not punished unless convicted of crime, ii., 6. They demand the equity of the laws, ii., 10, 11. Their belief in another life should clear them from these charges, xxxi., 157. They are not allowed to teach what they know and can prove to be true, while others write and say what they please, vii., 27. They are not permitted to hold the same opinions respecting the Deity that philosophers and poets hold, v., 17; xxiv., 116. Religious liberty is withheld from the Christians alone, i., 2. The Christians prevail by deeds, not by words, xi., 48. Certain unlearned ones may be found among them, who, if they are not able to show

- the utility of their profession by arguments, do exhibit it by their lives, *ibid.* They are zealous for the truth, *iii.*, 13. Willingly sacrifice their lives for it, *ibid.* Their morals, *xii.*, 51. They lead a moderate and benevolent life, *xii.*, 49. In all things they direct their life toward God as its rule, *xxxi.*, 156. They do not admit even the slightest sin, *ibid.* Much more they avoid the deeds of which the very thought is odious to them, *xxxiii.*, 162. Love their neighbors, *xi.*, 48, as themselves, *xxxii.*, 159, 160. Their enemies, *xi.*, 47. They suffer all treatment from these, and return good for evil, *i.*, 5. Reviled, they do not revile again, *xi.*, 48; *xxxiv.*, 164. Their purity of life, *xxxii.*, 159, 160. Many of both sexes among them pass their whole lives unmarried, *xxxiii.*, 161. Others enter only once into matrimony, *xxxiii.*, 162. They hold it wicked to expose infants, *xxxv.*, 167. They have abjured gladiatorial shows, *xxxv.*, 166. Can look with contempt on the good things of this life, *i.*, 5. Hold their loyalty to the Roman empire most sacredly of all, *i.*, 4. In behalf of the emperors, pray that their rule may be augmented, *xxxvii.*, 173. Pray that the power may remain in the house of Antoninus, *ibid.* The Christian doctrine not human, but given from God, *xi.*, 45; *xxxii.*, 159. It may seem human if studied only with the reason, *ix.*, 35. The Christians confirm their arguments by the words of the prophets, *ibid.* They show the utility of the doctrine not by words, but by deeds, *xi.*, 48.
- Chronos, Hercules, *xviii.*, 77.
- Cilicians, the, worship Niobe (*Medea*), *xiv.*, 57.
- Citharæ, the, are not crowned, and the players left without crowns, *xvi.*, 61.
- Cleanthes a Corinthian artisan, *xvii.*, 70.
- Clotho, *xviii.*, 79.
- Coelus, deus, *xviii.*, 79. With Terra produced the Parcae, *ibid.* The hundred-handed and the Cyclops, *ibid.* Thrust his sons into Tartarus, *xx.*, 86. Terra, incensed at Coelus, brought forth the Titans, *xviii.*, 79.
- Commodus, emperor, son of Marcus Aurelius, *i.*, cap.
- Conflagration, the, of the world according to the Stoics, *xix.*, 81; *xxii.*, 98.
- Core Proserpine, or Athela, *xx.*, 85. Minerva from the pupil (of the eye), *ibid.*
- Coroplatice invented by a Corinthian maid, *xvii.*, 70.
- Cotys, *xviii.*, 79.
- Crato of Sicyon the inventor of carving, *xvii.*, 70.
- Cretans, the, stole away Jupiter that he might not be killed, *xxiii.*, 115.
- Crime among the heathen, *xxxiv.*, 163.
- Crocodiles worshiped by the Egyptians, *i.*, 1.
- Ctesias, *xxx.*, 149.
- Cyclops, *xviii.*, 79.
- Daedalus the inventor of statuary, *xvii.*, 71.

- Death severs the union of soul and body, R., xvi., 77, 79. Follows a life of want, R., xvi., 76. Our death is not to be compared to that of beasts, R., xvi., 76. Contemned by Christians, iii., 13. Sleep and death twins, xii., 51. Sleep death's brother, R., xvi., 78.
- Deeds, the Christians would much more shun deeds, the very thoughts of which they avoided, xxxiii., 162. The Christian life is made up of deeds, not words, xi., 48. Their deeds are to be looked at, not their name, ii., 8. The life of the Christian is directed to God as its rule, xxxi., 155.
- Delius the work of Tectaeus and Angelio, xvii., 72.
- Democritus banished from Abdera, xxxi., 155.
- Demons, in the scheme of Thales, xxiii., 108. Of Plato, xxiii., 109, 110. Of Athenagoras, xxv., 123. Demons (Giants) haunt the world, xxv., 123. Excite passions like bad spirits, *ibid.* Deceive men, xxv., 127. Delight in bloody victims, xxvi., 128; xxvii., 134. The gods who are invoked through images were men, xxvi., 128. But demons have assumed the names, xxvi., 129. These draw men to the images, xxvi., 128. Impel them to that which is against nature, xxvi., 129. Take possession of their souls, xxvii., 134. Deceive with reference to the healing of disease, xxiii., 107; xxvii., 134.
- Denarius with the Pythagoreans, vi., 21.
- Derceto, xxx., 149.
- Devil created by God about matter (*circa materiam*), xxiv., 118. Placed over matter and the control of its forms, xxiv., 118, 121, 122, 124. Did outrage both to his free will and the authority that had been committed to him, xxiv., 121. Exercises a control contrary to the good that is in God, xxv., 124. Hostile to God, xxiv., 118. Moves men in various ways, xxv., 127. Has worked upon heathen writers, xxiv., 122.
- Diagoras the atheist, iv., 14.
- Diana wounds and slays, xxvi., 129. Taurica puts strangers to death, *ibid.* Her image at Ephesus, xvii., 72.
- Diomedes stronger than Mars, xxi., 91.
- Divinity, those to whom, is attributed should be eternal, xix., 80.
- Dogs worshiped by the Egyptians, i., 1.
- Doves worshiped by the Syrians, xxx., 149.
- Dracena, Rhea the mother of Jupiter changed into a, xx., 86.
- Dragon, with faces of deities, xviii., 77. A god coiled up, xx., 85. Jupiter transformed into a dragon had intercourse with his mother and daughter, xx., 86.
- Earth, the, a centre of the world, xiii., 54. A goddess, xviii., 79. Her sons and daughters, *ibid.*
- Ecstasy of the prophets, ix., 35.
- Egg, the original, xx., 88.
- Egyptians. See *Aegyptians*.
- Elements, the, can not remain without concord, xxii., 97. They are beautiful to behold because of the

- skill of the Maker, xvi., 66. Nevertheless they have the nature of matter, *ibid.* Can do no more than they are bidden, *ibid.* They are not moved or controlled without the providence of God, xxii., 105.
- Eleusinian mysteries, iv., 14.
- Empedocles, xxii., 95. His doctrines, xxii., 96, 97; xxiv., 118.
- End, each thing in nature has an, peculiar to itself, R., xxiv., 119. No one of sound mind makes any thing in vain, R., xii., 49. The end of man as a rational being can not be pleasure or indolence, R., xxiv., 122. But forever to rejoice in the contemplation of God and his law, R., xxv., 127.
- Endoens, a disciple of Daedalus, xvii., 72.
- Enemies, the Christians love their, xi., 47.
- Ephesus rejoices in the image of Diana, xvii., 72.
- Erechtheus, a deity of the Athenians, i., 1.
- Eucharisticus cultus not described by Athenagoras, xxxiv., 163.
- Eunuchs, xxxiv., 163.
- Euripides a doubter with respect to the false deities, v., 17. He says there is One, and removed from matter, v., 20. Hesitates to come to a conclusion with regard to divine providence, xxv., 125.
- Europa et Taurus, xxii., 103.
- Exposition, the, of infants is infanticide, xxxv., 167.
- Eyes, for what purpose created, xxxii., 159.
- Falsehood, it is less important to refute, than to establish truth, R., xi., 46. Some falsehood always grows up with the truth, R., i., 1.
- Fates, xviii., 79.
- Father. Vide *Trias*.
- Figures require both the material and an artist, xix., 83.
- Fire, eternal, xxxi., 157.
- Fishes, the proverb—To live as fishes, xxxiv., 163.
- Foetus, the, is a living thing and an object of God's care, xxxv., 167.
- Food, suitable to its nature, given by God to each animal, R., v., 23. A threefold process in the digestion of food, R., v., 24; vi., 25. That only can be called true nourishment which unites with the parts of the body, R., vi., 26. Not all the food given by God does this, R., vi., 28; but only that part which has been purified by the whole process, *ibid.* Food contrary to nature at once rejected, *ibid.* Or if it remain produces diseases, nor can it ever be assimilated, *ibid.* To eat human flesh a deed most abominable, R., viii., 35. God has ordained no animal to those of the same kind to be eaten, R., iii., 12; viii., 33.
- Freedom (moral) of angels and men, xxiv., 119, 120. Without it there would be neither virtue nor vice, xxiv., 120.
- Friendship and discord two original principles, xxii., 96, 97.
- Games of the gladiators, xxxv., 156. The Christians may not look upon them, *ibid.*
- Giants born from the intercourse of bad angels with virgins, xxv., 122. Vide *Demons*.

God, that, is one the Christians hold both in faith and in philosophy, viii., 30. The argument for the unity of God, *ibid.* The poets and philosophers recognize one God, v., 17; vii., 28. Can only be known by the reason, x., 38. Is seen in his works, iv., 16. Eternal and uncreated, iv., 15; x., 38; xxii., 98. He alone is eternal and uncreated, xxx., 151, 152. Uncreated, because that which has being is not created, but that which has not, iv., 16. Omnipotent, R., iii., 17, 18, 19. Omniscient, xiii., 55; xxxi., 157; R., ii., 13, 14. Wise, R., xii., 51. Good, xxvi., 130. Goodness belongs to him as color is a property of bodies, xxiv., 118. That which God can do, he can will, and conversely, R., xi., 43. Invisible, x., 38. Impassible, x., 38. Without suffering and without parts, viii., 31. All light, xxxi., 157. Surrounded with brightness, x., 38. Not divisible, viii., 31. Nor moving in space, viii., 33, 34. Can not be touched or inclosed, x., 38. Is in all things God to himself, light inaccessible, perfect order, spirit power, reason, xvi., 64. Wanting nothing, xiii., 54; R., xii., 51. Not the world, xvi., 64. Not sacrifices, xiii., 54. Created all things, viii., 34; x., 44. By the Word (Logon), x., 38, 40. The Maker of the world, he exercises his providence over his works, viii., 32, 33. Beholds and preserves all things by his omniscience and controlling power, xiii., 55. The judge of all the

deeds and thoughts of man, R., xix., 91. *Vide Trinity.* Gods (other), are elsewhere worshipped, xiv., 56, 58. The gods of the heathen, matter, stones, wood, gold, silver, xv., 60; xvii., 73. Are worshiped by images, xviii., 74. The argument against polytheism, viii., 30. The gods are not eternal, but were born, xviii., 76. Their origin, xviii., 77, 78, 79. Their forms and deeds, xx., 85, 86, 87. Brought forth as beasts, xx., 87. This can not be, xxiii., 113. What has a beginning must have an end, *ibid.* Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod gave names to the deities, xvii., 68, 69. They came from Aegypt to the Greeks, xxviii., 137. Born but yesterday, men of men, and are considered gods, xxix., 148. Some poets and philosophers say that the gods are demons, some that they are matter, some that they are men, xxiv., 116. The changes of the elements deified, xxii., 104. The forces of nature, xvi., 65. The stars, xvi., 67. The poets testify that the gods were men, xxix., 145-148. Some on account of their authority were deified by their minions, xxx., 149. Others on account of their strength or skill, xxx., 150. Others by fear or awe, xxx., 151. There is no truth in the history of the gods, xx., 87. They are not better than men, x., 39. Their passions, xxi., 89-92. They serve men, xxi., 93. Their graves, xxviii., 144. To refer fables to actual gods is to confirm what is said

- against them, xxii., 103. It is vain to refer them to nature, xxii., 95. It is absurd to believe some things concerning them, and not believe others, xxx., 153.
- Goodness, the, of God, xxiv., 118; xxvi., 130.
- Grace. The philosophers and poets have not found the truth because they wished to learn of God, not from God himself, but from themselves, vii., 28.
- Greeks, the, received their deities from Aegypt, xxviii., 137.
- Gyges, xviii., 79.
- Half-brutes, R., vii., 32; viii., 35.
- Hamilcar deified by the Carthaginians, xiv., 57.
- Harlot, the, reproves the chaste (proverb), xxxiv., 163. Prostitution among the heathens, *ibid.*
- Heathens, the, do not agree among themselves concerning the gods, xiv., 57, 58. Their licentiousness, xxxiv., 163. Bring a multitude of charges against the Christians, i., 4. Charge them with atheism, eating human flesh, and incest, iii., 12. Why? xxxi., 154, 155; xxxiv., 163. They harass them, i., 4. Even lie in waiting for their lives, i., 5; xi., 47, 48. They hate virtue, not only in Christians, but in their own people, xxxi., 155. Know nothing about loving enemies, xi., 47. Their doctrine an art of words, not a life of deeds, xi., 48. Their writers knew the truth in part, vii., 28; xxiv., 116, 122. Sometimes urged on by the Evil One, xxiv., 122. They could write and say what they pleased, vii., 27.
- Hector, a god of the Trojans, i., 1; xiv., 57.
- Helena Adrastea among the Trojans, i., 1.
- Heliopolis, xxviii., 135.
- Heraclitus driven from Ephesus, xxxi., 155.
- Hercules, Chronos, brought forth an egg, xviii., 77, 78. A dragon, xx., 85. A god on account of his strength, xxx., 150. His rage, xxix., 145. Burned himself, *ibid.* The Herculean knot, xx., 86.
- Herodotus, xvii., 69. A fabulist, xxviii., 140. Conversed with Aegyptian priests, xxviii., 135.
- Heroes, according to Thales, are the souls of men separated from their bodies, xxiii., 108.
- Hesiod worshiped Medea, xiv., 57. Gave names to the deities, xvii., 68.
- Homer gave names to the deities, xvii., 68. Imitates Orpheus, particularly in theology, xviii., 76. Finds that water is the origin of the gods, xviii., 76, 77.
- Homicide, the Christians detest, xxxv., 165.
- Homonyms, xi., 47.
- Honey and whey, how tested, xii., 52.
- Hundred-handed, xviii., 79; xx., 85.
- Husbandman does not sow before he has taken out the wild growth from the soil, R., i., 7. The seed having been cast into the ground, he awaits the harvest, xxxiii., 161.
- Hyacinthus killed by Apollo, xxi., 94.

Idols, how they perform miracles, xxiii., 106. If not right to worship the works of God, much less the works of men, xvi., 67. Vide *Image* and *Statues*.

Image (Imago), what is the divine, R., xii., 54. Images of the gods invented in very recent times, xvii., 68.

Immortality, the, of man unlike that of angels, R., xvi., 74, 75, 76.

Indolence is not the end of man, R., xxiv., 122.

Infants will not be judged, because they have done neither good nor evil, R., xiv., 65. Vide *Expose*.

Ino, after her madness a goddess, Leucothea, xxix., 148.

Inspiration. Vide *Prophets*.

Isaiah, ix., 35.

Isis, the birth of time, from whom all things come, xxii., 101. Her mysteries, xxii., 102.

Jeremiah, ix., 35.

Judgment, the, of God will have reference to the whole man, made up of soul and body, R., xviii., 88. If this were not so, man would be no better off than the brutes, R., xix., 92. Results from the free will of man, xxiv., 120. Minos and Rhadamanthus will not escape it, xii., 50. Nor the father of these, *ibid.* They deny the future judgment who do not believe in the resurrection, xxxvi., 169. Christians, being pure in life, will not be condemned in the judgment, xii., 51. In the present life they neither receive the rewards of good nor the penalties of evil deeds, R., xviii., 89; R., xix., 94. There is no

recompense of good or evil if the soul and body perish, or if the body alone, R., xx., 95, 96; xxi., 102. We shall render to God an account of our whole life, xii., 49. Even thoughts will be judged, xxxii., 159. Infants not judged, R.; xiv., 65. Some establish the doctrine of the resurrection by the argument drawn from the judgment of God alone, R., xiv., 64.

Juno, Earth, xxii., 96. Air, vi., 26; xxii., 98. The Samian and Argive the work of Smilis, xvii., 72.

Jupiter born in a cave, xxx., 152. Thrust his father into Tartarus, xx., 86. Held his sister as a wife, xxxii., 158. Offered violence to his mother Rhea, xx., 86. Also to his daughter Proserpine, *ibid.* Begat children of his mother and daughter, xxxii., 158. He devoured Phanes, that he might be too large to be contained, xx., 88. Younger than heaven and earth and than the Cretans, xxiii., 115. His sepulchre in Crete, xxx., 151. Will not escape the last judgment, xii., 50. Aristaeus Jupiter among the Ceans, xiv., 57. Agamemnon among the Lacedaemonians, i., 1. He is fire, xxii., 96. The fervid part of matter, vi., 26; xxii., 98. Air born of Saturn, xxii., 100. The season bringing about mild weather, xxii., 98. Twofold masculine-feminine air, *ibid.* His intercourse with Europa and Leda the same as that with Earth and Air, xxii., 103. Justice, to return like for like,

- xxxiv., 164. It is in accordance with justice that no one be punished before he is convicted, ii., 7. No notion of justice in brutes, R., x., 40.
- Kingdom (chief power) given from heaven, xviii., 75.
- Kings are under a certain special providence of God, xviii., 75. Receive their authority from on high, *ibid.*
- Lacedaemonians worship Agamemnon and Philonoe as gods, i., 1. Also Menelaus, xiv., 57.
- Lachesis, xviii., 79.
- Law implanted in man, R., xxiv., 121.
- Leda and the swan, xxii., 103.
- Life, the present, of little account, xii., 51. Because we have hope of the future, xxxiii., 161; R., xiii., 57; R., xvi., 78, 79. The future life better, xxxi., 157. Eternal life with God above all change, xxxi., 157. We are led forth to a happy future life if we know God and his Logos, xii., 51. Likewise the Holy Spirit, *ibid.* If we are free from all guilt, *ibid.*
- Logos with God before the world began, inasmuch as he is from all eternity, λογικῶν, x., 41. The mind and word of the Father is the Son of God, x., 40; xxiv., 117. The Son not separable, xviii., 75. The Son in the Father and the Father in the Son, since there is one divine nature in both, x., 41. The Son the Logos in idea and operation, x., 40. The first product of the Father, and came forth to be the idea and energizing power of all things, x., 41. Through the Logos all things created, adorned, and preserved by God, vi., 24; x., 38. According to the Logos and through the Logos all things were made, since the Father and Son are one, x., 40. *Vide Trinity.*
- Love toward enemies, xi., 47.
- Lupanaria, the, of the heathens, xxxiv., 163.
- Lysander a deity of the Samians, xiv., 57.
- Lysis, vi., 21.
- Man consists of soul and body, R., x., 41; R., xii., 57; R., xv., 67, 71; R., xviii., 88. Has free will, xxiv., 120. Employs reason, R., xii., 52. Bears in himself the image of God, i. e., is endowed with intelligence and reason, R., xii., 54. His life full of inequalities, R., xvi., 79. Man has an immutable continuance with respect to the soul, R., xvi., 75. In respect of the body obtains immortality by means of change, *ibid.* God formed him for himself, if a more general cause is sought, R., xii., 53. If a more specific cause, for man himself, *ibid.* Man created that he might exist and live a life suited to his nature, R., xii., 55. That he might partake of an intelligent life, and continue always in contemplation of the glory of God, R., xiii., 58. Destined to be immortal that he might continue forever in the knowledge of God, his law and justice, R., xii., 54.

- Intelligence and reason given him for this, R., xv., 70; R., xxv., 127. Should live according to his innate law and reason, R., xxiv., 121. Vide *End.* Incited variously by demoniacal influences, xxv., 127. His kinship with matter, xxvii., 133.
- Marcus Aurelius, i., cap. Arminiacus, Sarmaticus, philosophers, etc., *ibid.*, see also note, p. 104. His great learning, wisdom, mildness, and reverence toward the deity, i., 3; ii., 6, et al. The writings of the prophets were not unknown to him, ix., 35. Christians the only ones not cared for by him, i., 4. Great equity in trials under him, ii., 8. Injury done to the Christians alone, on account of their name, i., 2; ii., 7. He forbade to inform against Christians, iii., 13. The fidelity and loyalty of the Christians to the imperial house, iii., 13. They pray that the government may remain in the family of Antoninus, xxxvii., 173.
- Mars the helper of Jupiter against the Titans, xxi., 91. Wounds Venus, *ibid.* Weaker than Diomedes, *ibid.* A god blood-stained and the bane of mortals—an adulterer, *ibid.*
- Matrimony, the Christians enter into, in accordance with their laws, xxxiii., 161. For the purpose of having children, *ibid.* Do not approve of second marriage, xxxiii., 162.
- Matter formless, R., iii., 18. Created by God through the Logos, iv., 16; x., 41. Subject to corruption, iv., 15. Great difference between it and God, *ibid.* Susceptible of all forms, xv., 61. Subservient to God for the purposes of his art, xv., 61, 62. Without God as its former could not receive shape and order, *ibid.* Is the passive cause, xix., 82. The honor and glory of the orderly arrangement of the world belong not to matter, but to God, xv., 61. Those things should not be sought in matter which matter has not, xvi., 66. The forms of matter, xv., 62; xxii., 98; xxiv., 118. If the forms and changes of matter are considered gods, corruptible things are put on an equality with eternal, xv., 62.
- Medea a goddess, xiv., 57.
- Medean feast, R., iv., 22.
- Melicertes, xxix., 148.
- Memphis, xxviii., 135.
- Menelaus a deity of the Lacedaemonians, xiv., 57.
- Mercury's rod, *imago concubitus*, xx., 86. Trismégistus, xxviii., 141.
- Metanira a goddess of the Athenians, xiv., 57.
- Minerva called Core from the pupil, xx., 85. Whether Athene or Athela, xvii., 72. The intelligence pervading all things, xxii., 101. Her statue, xvii., 72.
- Minos a judge in the lower regions, xii., 50.
- Miracles performed by images of deities, xviii., 74; xxiii., 106; xxvi., 130, 131.
- Morals, the, of the Christians prove that they are not atheists, xi., 45. Other charges similarly disposed of, xxxi., 154, 155, 156.

- Moses, ix., 35.
- Mysteries: The sufferings of the gods, xxviii., 141, 142, 143; xxxii., 158. The, of Eleusis and the Cabiri, iv., 14. Wrong to divulge them, *ibid.*
- Name, no, in itself either good or bad, ii., 8. Names not worthy of hatred, but bad acts, ii., 6, 8.
- Nature without attributes, x., 41. The powers of nature symbolize deities, xvi., 65.
- Neptune, Erechtheus, i., 1. Water, xxii., 98.
- Neryllinus worshiped in Troas, xxvi., 130.
- Nestis water, xxii., 96.
- Niobe (Medea?) a goddess of the Cilicians, xiv., 57.
- Number, God not an ineffable, vi., 21. The denarius of the Pythagoreans, *ibid.*
- Oedipodean intercourse charged against the Christians, iii., 12; xxxi., 154; xxxii., 158. Why? xxxii., 160.
- Olympia, xxvi., 131.
- Onesilas a deity of the Amathusii, xiv., 57.
- Opsimus, vi., 21.
- Orpheus sought the origin of the gods in water, xviii., 76. Gave names to them, xvii., 68; xviii., 76. States the manner of their birth and describes their deeds, xviii., 76; xxxii., 158. His theogony, xviii., 78, 79. Homer imitates him, xviii., 76. The mysteries in his worship divulged by Diagoras, iv., 14.
- Orus the son of Isis and Osiris, xxii., 101. Apollo among the Greeks, xxiii., 136. Deposed Typhon, *ibid.*
- Osiris, Bacchus among the Greeks, xxviii., 136. Killed by Typhon, xxii., 101. His tomb with the Egyptians, xxii., 101; xxviii., 144. The sowing of corn, xxii., 102.
- Painting, the inventor of, xvii., 70.
- Pandrosos worshiped by the Athenians, i., 1.
- Parium, statues of Alexander and Proteus at, xxvi., 130.
- Peace, the profound, of the Roman Empire, i., 3.
- Pederasty of the heathens, xxxiv., 163.
- People, the common (*vulgus*), can not be taught because they so readily receive fables, xxiii., 113. Not able to distinguish between God and matter, xv., 59.
- Peripatetics, their opinions concerning the world and spirit, xvi., 65.
- Perseus a deity on account of his strength, xxx., 150.
- Phanes, first-born of the gods, xx., 88.
- Phidias, the statue of Aesculapius in Epidaurus his work, xvii., 72.
- Philippus, son of Butacides, a god of the Sicilians, xiv., 57.
- Philolaus teaches that all things are included in God as in a prison, vi., 21.
- Philonoe, daughter of Tyndarus, a goddess of the Lacedaemonians, i., 1.
- Philosopher, a title of the emperors, i., cap. The vain pursuits of philosophers, xi., 47. They differ among themselves in their views concerning God, vii., 28.

- Were not able clearly to discern the truth of the one God, because they sought to learn, not from God, but from themselves, vii., 28; xxiv., 116. They are not punished, ii., 9, 10.
- Physician, the, does not administer the restoring medicine until he has purged away the disease, R., i., 7.
- Piety is not to be judged by the number of sacrifices, xiii., 53.
- Pindarus, xxix., 146.
- Plato, xvi., 65; xix., 81. Contemplated the eternal intelligence and God, xxiii., 112. Recognizes the unity and eternity of God, vi., 23. Holds that gods neither beget nor are brought forth, xxiii., 113. Concerning demons, xxiii., 109-111. Concerning the world, xvi., 65. The doctrine of the resurrection not inconsistent with his opinions, xxxvi., 171. Mentions the Sibyl, xxx., 149.
- Pleasure can not be the end of man, R., xxiv., 122.
- Pluto, air, xxii., 96.
- Poets, the, represent the gods as no better than men, x., 39. Knew only in part the truth of the unity of God, vi., 28; xxiv., 116. Taught the truth imperfectly, xxiv., 122.
- Pollux, xxix., 148.
- Pottery we do not esteem above him that made it, xv., 62.
- Praxiteles the artist of the Venus in Cnidus, xvii., 72.
- Prayers for the emperor and his empire, xxxvii., 173.
- Prophets, the, not unknown to the heathens, ix., 35. Moved as instruments by the Holy Spirit, vii., 29. Lifted in ecstasy above their own minds by the impulses of the Holy Spirit, they uttered the truths with which they were inspired, ix., 35; x., 42.
- Proserpine, daughter of Jupiter from his mother, xx., 85. A monster, *ibid.* Called Core and Athela, *ibid.* Jupiter, transformed into a dragon, offered her violence, xx., 86.
- Proteus threw himself into the fire at Olympia, xxvi., 131. A god of the Parians, xxvi., 130.
- Providence, divine, viii., 34; xxii., 105. According to Aristotle, xxv., 126. Denied by some, xxv., 127. They should recognize it who recognize the Creator, R., xviii., 86. As is a ship without a pilot, so are the elements without Providence, xxii., 104, 105. Every creature depends upon Providence, R., xviii., 87. God exercises a general providence, and intrusts particular to angels, xxiv., 119.
- Punishment is not deprecated by the Christians, if any one can convict them of crimes, ii., 6.
- Pythagoras, with three hundred, burned with fire, xxxi., 155. The resurrection not inconsistent with his opinions, xxxvi., 171. What the Pythagoreans hold concerning God, vi., 21.
- Pythius the work of Theodorus and Telecles, xvii., 72.
- Quaternary, the, of the Pythagoreans, vi., 21.
- Reason more certain than experience in the establishment of truth,

- R., xvii., 84. We must submit to reason, not rule over it, xxxv., 167. The end of creatures endowed with reason, R., xii., 54. Creatures employing reason should not be subject to those without it, R., xii., 52.
- Religion can not be comprehended by reason alone, vii., 28, 29. The Christian religion might be looked upon as human if the arguments in its support were wholly rational, ix., 35. Not human, but given from God, xi., 45; xxxii., 159. Confirmed by the words of the prophets, ix., 35. Its utility shown by deeds, not by words, xi., 48. Religious liberty granted by the emperors to the nations subject to the Roman Empire, i., 1, 2. But not to the Christians, i., 2, 4.
- Resurrection, R., xxv., 126. A doctrine received by philosophers, xxxvi., 170, 171. Not inconsistent with the opinions of Plato and Pythagoras, *ibid.* Is the greatest incitement to a life of piety, xxxvi., 169; R., xviii., 89; R., xxii., 107-110. Entirely rejected by some, R., i., 9. Others hesitate to believe it, *ibid.* No reasonable ground of doubt in the nature of the subject, R., i., 9. They who deny the resurrection should show either that God is not able or not willing to raise the dead, R., ii., 12. If God can not raise the dead, he is deficient in knowledge and power, R., ii., 13. But the work of creation shows that he is not so deficient, R., ii., 14-16; iii., 17-19. The objection to the doctrine arising from the eating of human flesh either by animals or men, R., iv.-viii. (20-35). From the analogy of workmen, who are unable to restore their work when it is worn out, R., ix., 36, 37. God, if he were not willing to raise the dead, would be unwilling either because it is unjust, or because it is unworthy of him, R., x., 38. But it is not unjust, for no injury would result to the angels, *ibid.* Nor to brutes and inanimate things, R., x., 38, 39, 40. Nor to the souls or bodies of men, R., x., 41, 42. It is not unworthy of God, for if to make a corruptible body was not unworthy of him, to make an incorruptible will not be, R., x., 42. The resurrection is established from the cause for which man was created, R., xii.-xiii. (49-59). From the common nature of man, R., xi., 48; xv.-xvii. (66-84). From the future judgment of men by the Creator, R., xi., 48; xviii.-xxiii. (85-117). From the end of human existence, xiii., 59; xxiv., xxv. (118-127). Animals will not rise, R., x., 38.
- Rhadamanthus a judge in the lower regions, xii., 50.
- Rhea and Ceres (*commutatae*), xx., 85. Jupiter had intercourse with her, xx., 86. Virilia exsecat, xxvi., 129. Is earth, xxii., 99.
- Roman Empire, the, grants religious liberty, i., 1. Its profound peace, i., 1; also page 104. The Christians pray that it may be extended, xxxvii., 173. And

- may remain in the family of Antoninus, *ibid.*
- Rumors, false, concerning the Christians, *ii.*, 6.
- Sacrifices, bloody, God does not desire, *xiii.*, 54. To know and acknowledge him is the most acceptable sacrifice, *ibid.* It behooves us to offer a bloodless sacrifice, the service of our reason, *xiii.*, 55.
- Salutation of the Christians, *xxxii.*, 160.
- Samii, the, worship Lysander, *xiv.*, 57.
- Sarmaticus, a title of the emperors, *i.*, cap.
- Saturn castrated his father and hurled him from his chariot, *xx.*, 86. Devoured his children, *ibid.* Is thrust into Tartarus, *xxi.*, 92. Said to be time, *xxii.*, 99. Rhea, the earth, became pregnant by him, *xxii.*, 99. Devours the offspring, *ibid.* The castration of Saturn symbolizes the intercourse of the man and woman, *ibid.* His rage the change of season, *ibid.* The bonds and Tartarus, time, *ibid.* Statue of Saturn, *ibid.*
- Saurias, the Samian, inventor of drawing in outline, *xvii.*, 70.
- Sciagraphia invented by Saurias, *xvii.*, 70.
- Scriptures, sacred. *Vide Prophets.*
- Sculpture, the inventor of, *xvii.*, 71.
- Semele, the vine, *xxii.*, 102. The heat of the sun the thunderbolt, *ibid.*
- Semen, *R.*, *xvii.*, 81.
- Semiramis, daughter of Derceto, a goddess of the Syrians, *xxx.*, 149.
- Serpents worshiped by the Egyptians, *i.*, 1.
- Sibyl mentioned by Plato, *xxx.*, 149.
- Siculi, the, worship Philip, *xiv.*, 57.
- Sins, whence they arise, *R.*, *xxi.*, 102. They do not commit sins who know that God sees all things, *xxxi.*, 157. Who look for another life and for judgment, *ibid.* And who believe the body will be punished with the soul, *xxxvi.*, 169; *R.*, *xviii.*, 89; *R.*, *xxii.*, 107, 108. Even sinful thoughts lead away from God, *xxxiii.*, 162. Very young infants do not sin, therefore will not be judged, *R.*, *xiv.*, 65.
- Sister, nomen amoris, *xxxii.*, 160.
- Slaves, the Christians have—some more, some fewer, *xxxv.*, 165.
- Sleep. *Vide Death.*
- Smilis the artist of the Samian and Argive Juno, *xvii.*, 72.
- Socrates condemned to death, *xxxi.*, 155.
- Son, the, of God. *Vide Logos.*
- Sophists are referred to, *xi.*, 47.
- Sophocles recognizes one God, *v.*, 20.
- Soul, the, of the world, *vi.*, 24.
- Soul and body constitute man, *R.*, *xv.*, 67, 68; *R.*, *xviii.*, 88. The soul in the members of the body, *R.*, *xvi.*, 77. Immortal, *R.*, *xv.*, 67; *xxvii.*, 134. The affinity of the soul with the divine afflatus, *vii.*, 28. The soul in itself moves conformably to reason, predicting the future or healing the present, *xxvii.*, 134. Is affected by the sufferings of the body, *R.*, *xxi.*, 105. Its proper office to regulate the bodily ap-

- petites, R., xii., 56. Irrational movements of the soul produce images, derived some from matter, some from the soul itself, xxvii., 133. This happens especially when the soul partakes of the material spirit, xxvii., 133. Many sins the soul would not commit if not incited by the body, R., xviii., 89. Unjust to reward or punish the soul alone when the body has been partner in the good or bad deeds, R., xxi., 99. The end for which man was created is found in the union of soul and body, whence the resurrection of the body necessarily follows, R., xxv., 124, 125.
- Spirit, God is, to himself, xvi., 64. God encompassed by spirit and power, x., 38. The Holy Spirit an effluence of God, x., 42. As light from fire, xxiv., 117. Flowing from him and returning to him as beams of the sun, x., 42. The Spirit of God rules the world, v., 20. Embraces all things, vi., 24. Wrought upon the prophets, ix., 35; x., 42. The prophetic spirit, x., 42. Vide *Trinity*. According to the Stoics the Spirit of God pervades matter, vi., 26; xxii., 98.
- Stars not to be worshiped as deities, xvi., 67.
- Statuary, the inventor of the art, xvii., 70.
- Statues made of matter, xv., 59, 60. Those of Apollo (Delian and Pythian), that of Diana, those of Juno (Argive and Samian), those of Minerva (Athene and the sitting figure), xvii., 72. Those of Aesculapius, Venus, and others, ibid. Of Neryllinus, xxvi., 130, 131. Of Alexander and Proteus, xxvi., 131. Very recent in their origin, xvii., 68. Not known before the invention of arts, xvii., 69, 70. Worshiped as deities by the heathens, xv., 59; xvii., 73. Gods thought to inhabit the statues, xviii., 74. Miraculous power attributed to these statues, xviii., 75. Miracles performed in many places in the name of statues, xxiii., 106; xxvi., 130, 131. Irrational movements of the soul give birth to empty visions, which in turn lead to the folly of image-worship, xxvii., 133. Then demons avail themselves of these movements, and make it appear that the visions flow from the images, xxvi., 134.
- Steropes, xviii., 79.
- Stoics multiply the Deity in name, in reality consider God to be one, vi., 26. Define God as artistic fire, ibid. Whose Spirit pervades the world, i. e., matter, vi., 26; xxii., 98. Their opinions concerning Jupiter, Neptune, Juno, xxii., 98. Various names given by them to the Spirit of God according to the changes of matter, ibid. They hold that the world will be burned, xix., 81; xxii., 98.
- Styx dies in battle, xxi., 92.
- Syrians, the, worship doves and Semiramis, xxx., 149. Semiramis a Syrian goddess, ibid.
- Tectaeus the artist of the Delian god and Diana, xvii., 72.
- Telecles the artist of the Pythian god, xvii., 72.

- Temples sometimes spoken of as being also sepulchres of the deities, xxviii., 141.
- Tenedii, the, worship Tennes, i., 1.
- Tennes a deity of the Tenedii, i., 1.
- Thales divides superior beings into God, demons, and heroes, xxiii., 108.
- Thasii, the, worship Theagenes, xiv., 57.
- Theagenes a deity of the Thasii, xiv., 57.
- Theatres, the Christians avoid, xxxv., 166.
- Thebae, xxviii., 135.
- Theodorus, of Miletus, inventor of statuary, xvii., 71. The artist of the Pythian god, xvii., 72.
- Theology, the Christian, recognizes the Father, his Son and Holy Spirit, and angels, x., 44; xxiv., 117. The theology of the heathens absurd, xx., 84.
- Thoughts, they who flee wicked thoughts will much more avoid the actions, xxxiii., 162. Thoughts will be judged, xxxii., 159. A kiss excludes from eternal life if there be defilement of thought, xxxii., 160.
- Thyestean feasts charged against the Christians, iii., 12; xxxi., 154; xxxv., 165. Why? xxxiv., 163.
- Thyestes defiled his daughter, xxxii., 158. His tragic feast, R., iv., 22.
- Titans, xxi., 92. Called indifferently Titans or Giants, xviii., 79.
- Trinity, the Christians recognize God, and his Son and the Holy Spirit, xxiv., 117; x., 38-44. One in essential divinity, distinct in office (ordine), xxiv., 117.
- Unity in trinity, and distinction in unity, x., 43; xii., 51. The Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father by the unity and power of the Spirit, x., 40. The union of the Son with the Father, the communion of the Father with the Son, xii., 51. The Son the Logos or reason of the Father, xxiv., 117. The Spirit the effluence of the Father as light from the sun, x., 42. Or flame from a fire, xxiv., 117.
- Troas worships the statues of Ne-ryllinus, xxvi., 130.
- Trojans, the, worship Hector and Helen, i., 1; xiv., 57.
- Truth, in the establishment of, reason is safer than experience, R., xvii., 84. Arguments in behalf of and concerning the truth, R., i., 4; R., xi., 45, 46. Christians willingly give up their lives for the truth, iii., 13. Vide *Falsehood*.
- Tyndareus, i., 1.
- Typho the brother of Osiris, xxii., 101. Orus dethroned him, xxviii., 136.
- Unbelief, R., i., 9; R., ii., 10.
- Venus wounded by Diomedes, xxi., 91. By Mars, *ibid.* The courtesan, xvii., 72. Is sexual desire, xxii., 99. Her statue at Cnidus, xvii., 72.
- Vice. Vide *Virtue*.
- Vipers produced by Phanes, xx., 87.
- Virginity commended, xxxiii., 161.
- Virtue and vice can not have their origin in the soul alone, R., xxi., 105, 106. Vide *Amina*.

- Water the beginning of all things, xviii., 77. Nestis, xxii., 96.
- Whey, xii., 52.
- Wife, with the wife quando miseri licet, xxxii., 160; xxxiii., 161.
- Wisdom, divine, different from worldly, xxiv., 122. The guardianship and care of all his works to be trusted to the wisdom and justice of God, R., xviii., 86. The wisdom of the Son of God, xxiv., 117.
- Works, the, of God not to be worshipped, xvi., 67.
- World (Mundus), the, created, adorned, and preserved by God and his Logos, vi., 24; x., 38. Comprehended by the Spirit of God, vi., 24. Governed by the same, v., 20. Excellent in magnitude and order, xvi., 63; xxv., 127. Its form, beauty, order, etc., are incentives to worship God, iv., 16. God does not need it, xvi., 64. But it needs God, R., xviii., 86. God is to himself a perfect world, xvi., 64. Its conflagration according to the Stoics, xix., 81; xxii., 98.
- Worship, rational, of God, xiii., 55. The details of Christian, not described by Athenagoras, xxxiv., 163.

THE END.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

FEB 16 1945

LIBRARY FINE

21 MAR 1961

LIBRARY USE

OCT 21 1961

REC'D LD

OCT 21 1961

LD 21-100m-12,'48 (8796a)

